

Klein

Why the Clinton
Dynasty Is Over

**Tumulty**

Why Politics Will
Never Be the Same

Sullivan

Why Hillary
Didn't Win

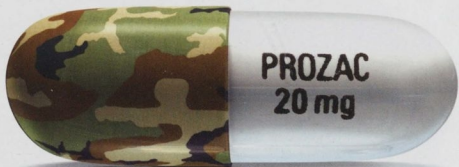
Beinart

Why Iraq Is a
Trap for Barack

**Plus:**

The Band
You Wish You
Didn't Like

TIME



The Military's Secret Weapon

For the first time in history, thousands of
U.S. troops are being given antidepressant
drugs to deal with battlefield stress.

Is this any way to fight a war?

BY MARK THOMPSON

A man with dark, wavy hair and a light beard is sitting on a boat. He is wearing a blue short-sleeved polo shirt and white shorts. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. His hands are pulling at the bottom of his shirt, revealing his midriff. He is wearing a silver watch on his left wrist. The background shows the blue water of the ocean and the white sails of the boat.

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On the cover: Illustration for TIME by Lon Tweeten and D.W. Pine. Insets, from left: Jason Reed—Reuters; Stephan Crasneanski

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To Our Readers

The Big Stories.

We go behind the scenes as the Democrats settle on a nominee, and provide a remarkable report on the military's use of antidepressants

EVEN IN THE MIDST OF A HISTORIC Democratic-primary race, there are some stories that cannot wait. I'm talking about Mark Thompson's groundbreaking investigative piece on the military's use of antidepressants for soldiers fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. The story details what is really happening to the men and women waging war in our name. Antidepressants help many thousands of people, but is it acceptable that such drugs have become in many ways another tool of war, along with M-16s and body armor? The piece also touches on a larger policy issue: "If these wars are important enough," asks Thompson, our national-security correspondent and a Pulitzer Prize winner, "isn't it important to have sufficient troops so that the Pentagon doesn't have to keep recycling troops into combat like mental cannon fodder, without consideration to the price they ultimately have to bear?" The answer, of course, is yes.

Adopting a strategy akin to the military doctrine of overwhelming force, we also bring you comprehensive and insightful coverage, both in print and online, of the conclusion of the primary season. For TIME.com, on the night of the final primaries, Mark Halperin reported on critical backstage maneuvering on Barack Obama's plane; David Von Drehle and Jay Newton-Small dissected Hillary Clinton's almost-concession speech; and Washington bureau chief James Carney examined John McCain's first real attempt to stop the Obama hope machine. In this week's magazine, Joe Klein explains how Hillary found her political soul during the campaign but warns that she could lose the Democrats the presidency if her fervency turns to intransigence. You'll also find Karen Tumulty's smart deconstruction of Obama's strategy, which features the Democratic nominee talking candidly with her about how he has stuck to a few basic principles. We also offer Amy Sullivan's counterintuitive analysis of Hillary and women voters:



that she didn't win all that many of them and that a battle is under way between optimist and pessimist feminists. Peter Beinart explains why Obama would be foolish to be baited into a trip to Iraq. Jackson Dykman creates a revelatory graphic map of Clinton's and Obama's results by county across the country. And we have terrific behind-the-scenes pictures from Callie Shell with Obama and Diana Walker with Clinton.

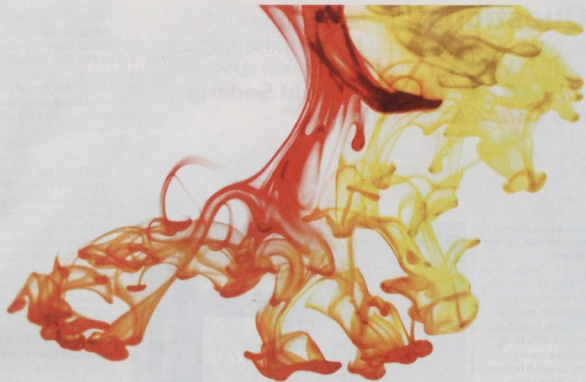
Finally, I want to tell you about Josh Quittner's marvelously informed story about how Google, Facebook and Apple are competing to create the world's next great cyberplatform. The article makes it clear that the winner will reap billions, but it also offers us insight into the larger battle over redefining the Internet—and our lives.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

Teamwork Mark Halperin, above, checks in from the campaign trail. Clockwise, below, from top right: columnist Joe Klein, tech writer Josh Quittner and columnists Karen Tumulty and Mark Thompson





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10 Questions.

The best-selling author earned a devoted following for his sidesplitting essay collections. His latest, *When You Are Engulfed in Flames*, is out now. **David Sedaris will now take your questions**

Should your books be shelved in the fiction or nonfiction section of the bookstore?

Reilly Capps

TELLURIDE, COLO.

Nonfiction. I've always been a huge exaggerator, but when I write something, I put it on a scale. And if it's 97% true, I think that's true enough. I'm not going to call it fiction because 3% of it isn't true.

Is there anything you consider to be off-limits in your writing?

Emi Chang, MILILANI, HAWAII

Oh, there's an awful lot that I consider to be off-limits. I never write about me having sex. I mean, if someone talks about having sex, that's great, that's where it's at. But I would never talk about myself.

How has your family reacted to having their exploits included in your work?

Beverly Fleischman

CASPER, WYO.

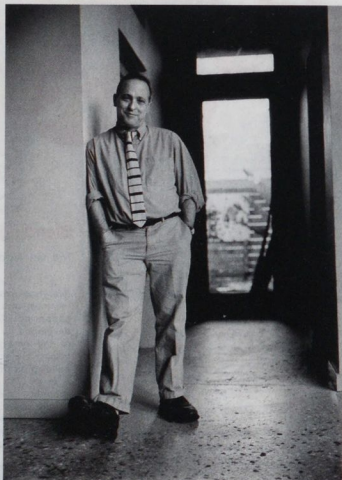
Whenever I write about anyone in my family, I give them the story to read first. And I ask if there's anything they want me to change or get rid of. But you can never anticipate how people are going to read what you've written. You can write something with affection, but that doesn't necessarily mean that people are going to see it.

Are you ever jealous of your sister Amy?

Dan Burhans

DES MOINES, IOWA

No. What Amy and I do are different. Amy is an actress, and I'm not. To me, the idea of



being on camera is absolutely horrible.

Has living in France affected the way you think about your childhood in America?

Matt Brosseau

BENNINGTON, VT.

It makes me see the United States differently, but I don't know that it makes me think of my past differently. In the United States, people are allowed to talk about money. You'll be on an

airplane, and one stranger will say to another, "Boy, that's a really nice watch." And the other guy will say, "Well, it cost me \$4,000." People would be horrified in France or England if you said that.

Are there things you miss about the U.S.?

Matthew Machado

SAN FRANCISCO

I miss canned clams. You can't get those in France. Grits and

canned clams. And I miss National Public Radio. Ira [Glass] usually sends me CDs of *This American Life*.

I heard that part of your new book is about quitting smoking. Have you remained smoke-free?

Pamela Skjolsvik

BAYFIELD, COLO.

Yes, I have. I quit smoking in January of 2007. In the end, the reason I quit was so I could stay at decent hotels. Nice hotels in the U.S. went completely nonsmoking. That said, I don't suggest that anyone quit smoking. I love the smell of smoke. Cigarettes smell really good to me. They smell like an apple pie baking.

Do you enjoy meeting your readers at book signings?

Jerry Kaiser, AURORA, COLO.

I do. Reading is such a solitary activity that it's rare to get to meet the people who read your books. If left to their own, people will feel like they need to say "I liked your last book." But it's embarrassing for me to hear that, so I just change the subject, and we have a little conversation.

Who makes you laugh?

Carlos Farias, EL PASO, TEXAS

There's an English writer named Alan Bennett who makes me laugh. That show *Extras* with Ricky Gervais makes me laugh. I like that kind of uncomfortable laughter. But when it comes to reading, I'd normally rather read something that was tragic than funny.

What is the one question you've always wanted to be asked?

Patricia Loureiro, LISBON

Where I graduated from college. Once you actually graduate from college, nobody ever asks you anymore where you graduated from. So, I graduated from the Art Institute of Chicago. ■

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GOODYEAR
Get there

Postcard: Postville. After a major immigration raid snares 1 in 6 residents, an Iowa town comes together to pick up the pieces. A crackdown's unintended consequences

BY BETSY RUBINER

ON A RECENT SPRING DAY, A MIDDLE-aged white woman walked into the local Guatemalan restaurant in this small northeastern Iowa town, her arm around a Hispanic child who was sobbing because she couldn't find her mother. After conferring with a restaurant worker, the woman took the child to nearby St. Bridget's, a modest Catholic brick church that has become the command center for what some in Postville describe as a "disaster-relief response."

On May 12, in one of the nation's largest raids on illegal workers, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents descended on the Agriprocessors Inc. kosher meatpacking plant here, taking 389 employees into custody. So far, about 300 have pleaded guilty to identity fraud or immigration violations, and most face a term of at least five months in prison and almost

certain deportation. The day of the raid, about 400 people, mostly Mexican and Guatemalan women and children, fled to St. Bridget's, seeking safety, shelter and the whereabouts of their family members. Since then, residents, religious leaders and out-of-town volunteers have stitched together a safety net for the families, with St. Bridget's at its heart.

For a small Iowa town, Postville is unusually diverse—descendants of German and Norwegian Lutherans and Irish Catholics mix with Latin Americans, Ukrainians and Hasidic Jews drawn here by the plant—and anti-immigrant sentiment is not unknown. But many say the immigrants have helped make Agriprocessors the nation's largest kosher meat processor and, in turn, helped Postville prosper while many other small Iowa towns struggle. "They're being preyed upon," says John Schlee, 71, a volunteer at St. Bridget's, wearing overalls and a farm-implement company cap. "They're doing work that the American workers don't want to do.



A search for answers Volunteers at St. Bridget's help immigrants figure out their next steps

They're searching for a better life, and now their families are being torn apart."

Support for the workers and their families isn't universal: a few angry residents have contacted the church, complaining about its care of "criminals." But volunteers like Ardie Kuhse, 60, shrug this off. "Yes, they were illegal," she says, but "they're a part of our community." The arrests have caused turmoil in this town of some 2,300, where a significant number of its residents

now either are incarcerated or face a future without their primary breadwinners. "Businesses are reeling," says the Rev. Paul Ouderkerk of St. Bridget's.

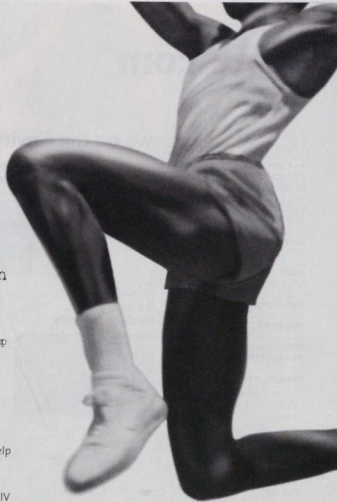
Over Memorial Day weekend, the church bustled with Hispanic families seeking financial and legal advice. Among them were Sylvia Ruiz, 40, and Marta Veronica, 32, two Guatemalan plant workers paroled to care for their children while they await trial. Both wore electronic ankle bracelets. "We can't work. We can't provide for our kids. God bless the church," says Veronica, speaking through an interpreter. At a card table, a volunteer helped people locate family and friends on an Iowa map

peppered with Post-it notes showing the locations of detention centers. In the church rectory, lawyers met with immigrants struggling to understand criminal and immigration law. Ruiz, who is preparing for a likely return to Guatemala, has four children, ages 18, 16, 7 and 2. "The little ones don't understand what's happening," she says. "The older ones do." Principal Chad Wahls predicts that up to one-third of the 387 students at Postville's elementary and middle school may not return this fall, including friends of his third-grade daughter, who "cried and cried for days" after the raid.

Postville's immigrants may have more uncertainty ahead: there are rumors that the ICE agents will return, and some immigrants worry they will be evicted as replacement workers arrive to help Agriprocessors—still facing a possible investigation—get back on track. Others are reflecting on their firsthand experience with U.S. immigration policy. "We have to have comprehensive immigration reform so these people who desire to work can," says Sister Mary McCauley, St. Bridget's pastoral administrator. "When people are so hurt, we have to take a look at the law."

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Eating Bugs



How to Save the Planet and Make Money Doing So



Going Green

Bryan Walsh seeks the solution to global warming (he'll eat bugs to find it)

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Consultations

Laura Blue gets answers from experts to our most pressing health questions



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Do Obese Kids Become Obese Adults?



Caffeine and Pregnancy: How Risky?



Can Alzheimer's Be Prevented?

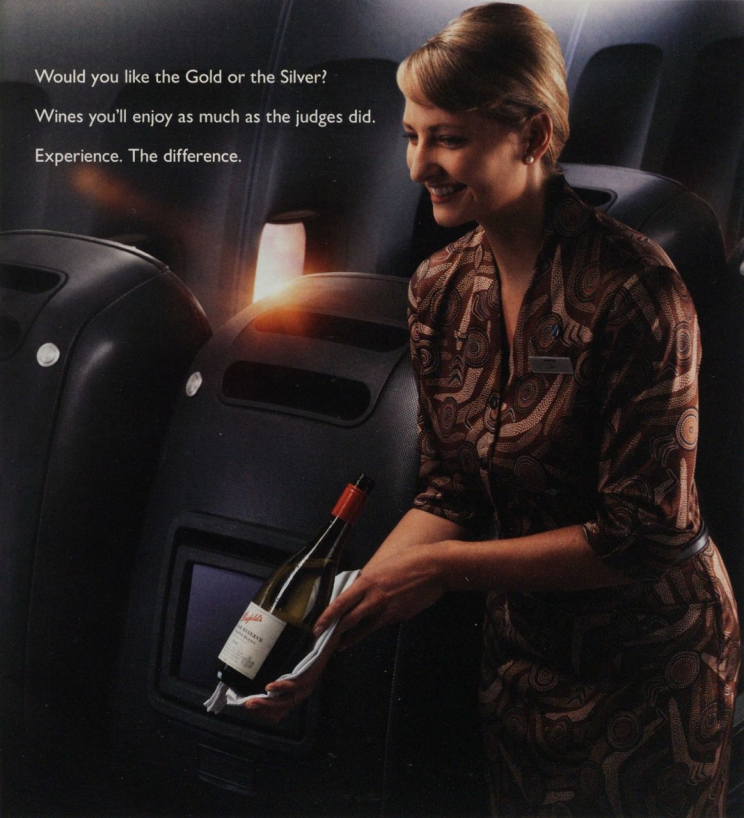


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Curing some diseases can be complicated. But preventing them can be as simple as

"Half the population of the world lack sanitation."

—from UNICEF's The Millennium Development Goals 2007 report.

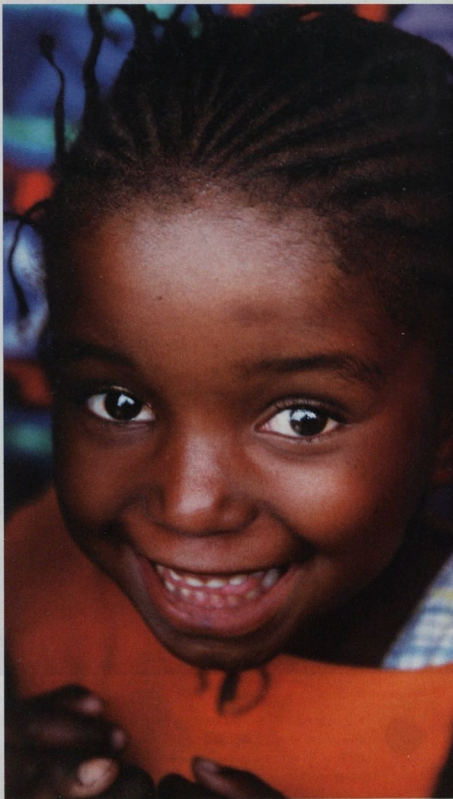


Photo by Takayoshi Tanuma

providing good sanitation.

Over 2.5 billion people—40% of the world's population—live without toilets or latrines and are unable to practice such basic hygiene as washing their hands with soap in safe water.

Every day 5,000 children under five die from diseases associated with poor hygiene and lack of sanitation — a staggering 1.5 million unnecessary deaths every year.

What are the solutions? First: the proper disposal of waste matter. Second: hand washing with soap and water.

However, much effort is needed to implement these solutions and meet the Millennium Development Goal of halving, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to improved sanitation. UNICEF is working worldwide to help achieve this goal.

As a company that believes in living and working together for the common good, we at Canon appreciate UNICEF's efforts.

We note the UN has declared 2008 the International Year of Sanitation, focusing on the need to improve hygiene for children to preserve their lives and human dignity. And we hope all children will soon enjoy a clean bill of health starting with clean sanitation.

The children of today, the promise of tomorrow.

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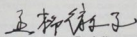
A simple solution to protect the lives of children.

*A message from Actress,
Television Personality, Author,
UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador,
Tetsuko Kuroyanagi.*



In my 25 years as a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador, I have seen children in very desperate situations. Children who have lost loved ones and homes in natural disasters, children caught up in conflict, children struggling to survive in displacement camps. Many of these children are severely affected by lack of sanitation. I have seen the appalling conditions in which people live and the crippling effect poor sanitation has on a society — especially its children.

It is my sincere hope that the global community recognizes the perils of inadequate sanitation — especially for those already suffering from crisis. Lack of proper sanitation is not only an indignity, but it contributes to disease and poverty. We must face this issue together. For too long we have looked away from the problems created by poor sanitation, describing it as a local issue. It is not. Today, it is a global crisis and we need to act now.


Tetsuko Kuroyanagi

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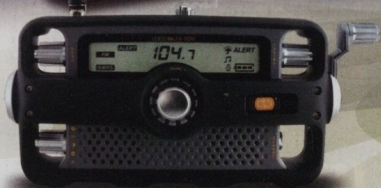
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ARC FR300 RED | \$50
Self-Powered AM/FM/Weather Radio with Flashlight, Emergency Siren and Cell Phone Charger



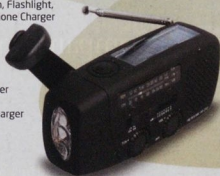
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VOICELINK FR1000 | \$150
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SOLARLINK FR500 | \$80
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MICROLINK FR150 | \$30
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Inbox



Taking Shots at Vaccines

ALICE PARK'S ARTICLE "HOW SAFE ARE VACCINES?" left out two critical facts [June 2]. One is that when mercury was taken out of childhood vaccines, it was replaced with other toxic preservatives such as formaldehyde and aluminum. Second, while the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) may be correct that there is no scientific evidence that vaccines are causing the rising wave of autism, they do not make the public aware that there are no scientific studies proving that vaccines are not to blame. Our government and pharmaceutical companies have not conducted any long-term double-blind placebo studies of vaccine treatment results, and there is no proof one way or another.

Marie D. Zeller, PORTLAND, ORE.

ON AUG. 13, 1952, THREE YEARS BEFORE the polio vaccine was available, I was a 33-month-old toddler. I took a nap with my 5-year-old cousin. When we woke up, she was fine, but I had a fever, was in terrific pain and could not walk. After rushing me to the hospital and seeing me go through two spinal taps, my parents heard the dreaded diagnosis: polio. I had paralysis in both legs, my back, right arm, diaphragm and lungs. I spent the next four months in the hospital until I was miraculously able to breathe on my own again. Ahead were years of back and leg braces, more than a dozen major surgeries on my legs and spine, learning to walk again (and again and again after each surgery) and 45 years of using crutches to get around, followed by (so far) 11 years in a wheelchair. I can't

TO VACCINATE OR NOT TO VACCINATE: TIME READERS DEBATE

Our June 2 cover story on child vaccinations elicited more than 100 responses, including grateful praise, defenses of the antivaccine position and suggestions for taking a middle ground. Some additional highlights:

Pro

MEDICINE'S GREATEST ACCOMPLISHMENT each year saves the lives of millions.

Michael Karp, M.D., VISTA, CALIF.

YOUR ARTICLE HELPED ME REGAIN CONFIDENCE in my common sense.

Diana Lewis, AUSTIN, TEXAS

ONE DAY WHEN I WAS COMPLAINING about getting my shots, my mother described her experience of catching both diphtheria and whooping cough. I never complained about getting shots again.

Curtis Streuli, NORWALK, CONN.

even begin to describe the emotional, spiritual, social and psychological pain I have endured these past 56 years. I, my parents and all those thousands of others would have given anything at all to have had the vaccine instead of the hellish nightmare we faced.

Michael Odle, WEST ALLIS, WIS.

REPORTS LIKE PARK'S ARE VITAL IF WE ARE to persuade today's young parents, most of whom have never seen a case of paralytic polio, that immunization remains essential in today's global society. Fears and myths about vaccines place our children in peril. Kelly Lacey's story shows how

Con

THERE ARE REASONS BESIDES AUTISM NOT to vaccinate, including possible association with sudden infant death syndrome, lupus and multiple sclerosis.

Priscilla Mondick, COLUMBUS, OHIO

EVERY PARENT SHOULD MAKE AN INFORMED decision based on facts, not hysteria—and not be demonized for it.

Robert Abrahamson, M.D., SEDONA, ARIZ.

TIME FAILED TO MENTION THAT VACCINES aren't an infallible guarantee.

Ana Hotaling, ANN ARBOR, MICH.

difficult it can be for parents to navigate the labyrinth of conflicting reports in the media. We must work together to solve the mystery of autism while safeguarding one of the most successful public-health initiatives of all time.

Renee R. Jenkins, President, American Academy of Pediatrics
ELK GROVE VILLAGE, ILL.

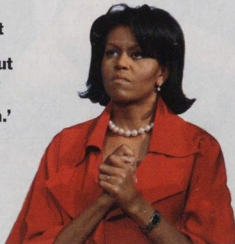
THERE IS ROOM FOR COMPROMISE IN deciding whether or not to vaccinate. Our family has a two-pronged strategy: First, we breast-feed our children, making them less likely to develop a wide range of infectious diseases. Second, we vaccinate on a delayed schedule. At each well visit, we permit our children to be given no more than two vaccines. Our pediatrician helps us prioritize. By the time our children reach age 5, they are fully vaccinated.

Brenda Carroll, SHAWNEE, KANS.

AS A PHYSICIAN OF 25 YEARS, I HAVE learned that "truth" in medicine is a fleeting concept. Although pediatric vaccines with full-dose thimerosal were no longer allowed to be made for sale in the U.S. after 2001, those stocks already in distribution or purchased could be used until their expiration date, as late as 2003. The influenza vaccine, which has been strongly pushed for children, still

'Michelle and Barack Obama are two of the most honest political players to grace this planet. It is about time we honor this change and stop criticizing their courage to tell us the truth.'

Ann Patch, CAPE ELIZABETH, MAINE



In Michelle we trust A wide range of readers were in agreement on one point: the intelligence, candor and courage of Michelle Obama

What satisfies a hungry woman?



contains thimerosal in some available doses. I am not antivaccine, but the way in which vaccines are currently applied is causing many undue harm.

Gregory L. Brown, RACINE, WIS.

YOU HAVE DONE YOUR READERS A DIS-service by failing to note Dr. Paul Offit's conflict of interest with regard to vaccines. He is not merely a doctor at Children's Hospital in Philadelphia; he is a co-patent holder for Merck's RotaTeq vaccine.

Angelique Higgins, SHERMAN OAKS, CALIF.

IT WAS REFRESHING TO SEE SUCH INTEGRITY on a subject that is usually fueled by rampant propaganda and scare tactics from the American Medical Association, the Food and Drug Administration, the CDC and the pharmaceutical industry.

James Sites, LITTLETON, COLO.

Stayin' Alive

WHAT DOES HILLARY CLINTON WANT [June 2]? She wants to win—in spite of you all!

Neida Rodriguez, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

YOUR ARTICLE SHOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED "Enough Is Enough." Would somebody please show Clinton the door?

Helen C. Grimes, MEDFORD, MASS.

And Health Care for All

HOW SAD THAT SENATOR TED KENNEDY has been diagnosed with a brain tumor [June 2]. Fortunately, as a member of Congress, he will receive the best medical care, without regard to cost. For millions of working Americans, this diagnosis would mean liquidation of life savings, bake sales and coin jars at the local convenience store. Why can't Congress create a comprehensive health-care plan that treats us taxpayers as generously as they treat themselves?

David Stockman, BILLINGS, MONT.

Gay Marriage

THE CALIFORNIA SUPREME COURT RULING is long overdue [June 2]. Our family traveled joyfully to Canada last year to witness my son's marriage to his partner. Return-

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ Our June 9 report on Tony Blair misidentified Interfaith Youth Core founder Eboo Patel as Ibrahim Patel.

■ In our June 2 cover story on vaccines, we called *Haemophilus influenzae* a virus; it is a bacterium.

■ A June 2 Briefing story misstated the number of available barrels of oil in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. The correct number is 703 million.

ing home, where that marriage is not recognized felt like Cinderella postball. Denying same-sex couples the right to marry is deeply hurtful both to them and to the family members who love them.

Barbara Krentzman, BUFFALO GROVE, ILL.

Michelle, Ma Belle

THE "TRUTHS" MICHELLE OBAMA SPEAKS are evolutionary and applicable to deep-rooted Americans [June 2]. My American family goes back to Captain John Steele in the Revolutionary War. Our immigrant ancestors came from Ireland, Germany, England, Scotland, Eastern Europe, Russia, Mexico and the Philippines. I happen to be a 76-year-old white male, and "for the first time in my adult life, I am really proud of my country." When Michelle speaks, we hear her awakening the American Dream.

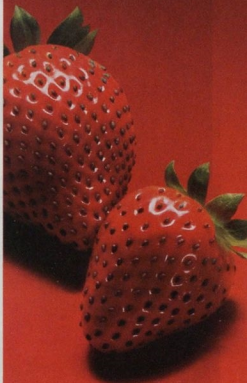
John S. Hellman, NEW YORK CITY

MICHELLE OBAMA INFURIATES AND IS targeted by conservatives because she is truthful and candid and does not mince words. I say, More power to her.

Richard McCurdy, BURBANK, CALIF.

I AM A LIFELONG REPUBLICAN WHO recently turned independent. Early in the primaries, I stood in the rain for two hours, waiting to hear Michelle Obama speak. She is Barack's match in every way—brilliant, articulate, patriotic, humorous, dedicated to helping make our country's future better. She received standing ovations again and again as she expressed her clear vision that our nation is in trouble and dramatic changes in policy are our best hope.

Iona Kargel, TUCSON, ARIZ.



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POP CHART MILESTONES

THE MOMENT: ST. PAUL



Past and Prologue. At last, the primaries are over. On to the real race

AFTER THREE QUARTERS OF A million minutes of Campaign 2008, the finale to Act 1 took just 90 min. more, but it was perfect political theater. As Barack Obama won his prize at last, the three contenders performed back-to-back, on message and in high definition, sounding like themselves—only more so. If you revere or revile any of them, Tuesday's coda reminded you why.

John McCain, speaking first in New Orleans, said he was proud to call Hillary Clinton his friend. Then he borrowed her kitchen knives

and sharpened every one, attacking Obama for his naiveté, inexperience and general wussiness. Obama may be young and cool, McCain said, but his ideas are "old" and "tired." It was a strong attack, but watching him deliver a set speech with a clenched grin to a partisan crowd may have made voters miss the McCain who made them feel like part of some feisty rebel band, not deckhands on the Death Star. "This was not a speechmaking contest," McCain adviser Alex Castellanos noted on CNN. "Thank God."

Clinton was next, in a Manhattan gym several stories underground, where even cell phones died. A Clinton hasn't given a concession speech since 1980, so anyone looking for an acknowledgment of defeat was hunting for teacups at the hardware store. She congratulated Obama on the

It was perfect political theater as the three performed back-to-back

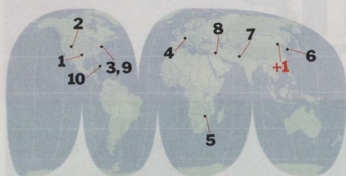
race he had run without noting that he'd won it, and called every vote for her "a prayer for the nation," as though she alone could answer it.

Then came Obama in St. Paul, Minn., with his wife

Michelle next to him in a violet sheath (purple = red + blue). After a carefully gracious tribute to Clinton, he went right at McCain for being a quaint fossil of the Paleolithic era before launching the race into deep space. "This is our moment," he said. "This is our time." Moments, of course, are fleeting, and he talked about this one in the way geologists talk about eons. "Generations from now, we will be able to look back and tell our children that this was the moment ... when the rise of the oceans began to slow, and our planet began to heal," he said. When he was done, voters on all sides could sigh in relief, if only because at least the first heat of this amazing race is finally over. —BY NANCY GIBBS ■

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



1 | Texas

The Long Journey Home

On June 2, a district judge ordered the return of nearly 460 children to a polygamist sect's care after a state supreme court ruled in its favor. But Child Protective Services and the Attorney General will continue investigations into alleged sexual abuse on the sect's Yearning for Zion ranch. Though no charges have been filed, families cannot leave the state.

2 | Utah

Breaking the Beer Barrier

Amid a national economic slowdown, Utah is quietly attracting residents and tourists with such growing industries as biotech and outdoor recreation. To make the state more "user friendly," Governor Jon Huntsman wants to relax the laws that prohibit serving liquor or high-alcohol beer outside private clubs or eateries. Public hearings begin this month.

18%	23%	20 MILLION
Increase in Utah's population from 2000 to 2007	Percentage of residents who came from other states or countries	Number of tourists who visited Utah in 2007

3 | Washington

Cutting Out Carbon

The U.S. Senate began debating legislation that would establish a cap-and-trade system aimed at slashing greenhouse-gas emissions nearly 70% by 2050. The bill has slim chances of passing; critics say it would bruise the faltering U.S. economy by hindering manufacturers and saddling consumers with energy cost increases. But advocates hope the bipartisan measure will establish a blueprint for attempts to curb emissions under the next Administration, while leaving its opponents susceptible to the wrath of pro-environment voters in November.



4 | Switzerland

A Defeat for the Far Right

Swiss voters overwhelmingly rejected a June 1 initiative that would have stiffened the country's already rigid naturalization process and have allowed townspeople to vote by secret ballot on whether to grant citizenship to their neighbors. The failure is a blow to the right-wing Swiss People's Party, which rode a wave of anti-immigrant sentiment to a plurality in parliament. About 22% of Swiss residents are foreigners—one of the highest rates in Europe—and the party exploited rising xenophobia in its referendum campaign with ads depicting dark hands snatching Swiss passports.



6 | Seoul

A BELLYACHE OVER U.S. BEEF South Korea's government delayed a plan to lift its ban on U.S. beef imports after thousands of protesters clashed with police in Seoul. The ban had been instituted following a 2003 outbreak of mad-cow disease. Koreans accuse newly elected President Lee Myung Bak of caving to Washington after Congress linked a \$29 billion free-trade agreement to the reopening of the Korean market, formerly the third largest worldwide for U.S. beef.

5 | Zimbabwe

Crackdown

Tensions are rising as Zimbabwe's June 27 runoff elections approach. On June 4, opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai was detained by police, just a day after foreign-aid agencies that help feed thousands of people were shut down for allegedly supporting him—ironically, while President Robert Mugabe was in Rome for a U.N. food-crisis summit.

Numbers:

4 Number of truck and SUV plants that General Motors plans to close by 2010 as it shifts to producing compact cars

50% Percentage that food production must rise by 2030 to meet increased demand, according to U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon



7 | Pakistan

EMBASSY ATTACKED A car bomb killed at least six people outside the Danish embassy in Islamabad on June 2. The attack was believed to be linked to the recent decision by Danish newspapers to reprint a controversial cartoon of the Prophet Muhammad that had ignited worldwide protests when it first appeared in 2005. In March, Osama bin Laden warned of "severe" retaliation for reprinting the cartoon. No group immediately claimed responsibility, but Danish authorities pointed to al-Qaeda.

8 | Iraq

U.S. Death Toll Hits Wartime Low

Nineteen U.S. soldiers were killed in Iraq in May, the lowest one-month count since the war began. The drop was attributed to a cease-fire between U.S. forces and Muqtada al-Sadr's militia as well as the troop surge that put 30,000 extra soldiers on the ground in the spring of 2007. Meanwhile, the decline in American casualties comes as Iraqi security forces take on a greater combat role. Coalition forces say 98 Iraqi security personnel were killed in May, along with 553 civilians. "This progress is fragile," a military spokesman warned.

9 | Washington

Straphanger Nation

Stratospheric gas prices are driving commuters out of their cars and onto buses and trains, as the number of Americans using mass transportation reached record levels in the first quarter of this year, up 3% to 2.6 billion trips. If fuel costs remain high, transport officials see 2008 ridership exceeding last year's total of 10.3 billion, the highest mark in 50 years.

MASS-TRANSIT INCREASES



Light rail 10.3%



Commuter rail 5.7%



Heavy rail 4.4%



Bus 2%



A Guantánamo detainee covers his face in a medium-security facility at the naval base

10 | Cuba

Justice, Gitmo Style

With hearings beginning June 5 in the trials of alleged 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and four co-conspirators, as much attention is being paid to Guantánamo Bay's controversial military-commission system as to the crimes themselves. Critics dismiss the tribunals as too secretive, arguing that evidence obtained through methods like waterboarding should be inadmissible. The U.S. Supreme Court is set to rule this month on the rights of Gitmo prisoners.

+ 1 | China

Olympics Dos and Don'ts ...

... for foreigners, according to the Beijing Olympic Games organizing committee:

- ☒ Visitors staying with residents must register at a police station.
- ☒ In order to "maintain public hygiene," no sleeping outdoors.
- ☒ Just because you have an Olympic ticket doesn't mean you automatically get a visa.
- ☒ No displays of political or religious banners at events.
- ☒ Do not burn or damage the Chinese flag or any other national emblems.
- ☒ No terrorists, please, or anyone with "mental diseases."
- ☒ Tibet? Totally off-limits.

\$137
MILLION

Amount of money spent on TV ads during the 2008 Democratic-primary process, compared with \$51 million in 2004

400

Number of firefighters who battled a blaze at Universal Studios that destroyed several movie sets and a vault containing copies of every film the company produced

Verbatim

'I am anxious to meet him. I want to see if he will walk the walk.'

RUPERT MURDOCH, chairman of News Corp., on U.S. presidential hopeful Barack Obama, predicting the Democrat's victory in November

'So much has been written about me, and so many people want to know what it's like to be on the other side of the interviewer's table.'

NATASCHA KAMPUSCH, the Austrian woman held captive in a cellar for 8½ years, on becoming the host of her own TV show just two years after her escape

'This wasn't a riot! These people were just disrupting society ... The government will solve their problems.'

ZAO MING, an official from Dujiangyan, China's foreign-affairs office, after hundreds of grieving parents were dragged away by local police during their protest over the poorly constructed schools that collapsed in last month's earthquake, killing thousands of children

'She has the impression that people want to silence her.'

FRANCOIS-XAVIER KELIDJIAN, lawyer for Brigitte Bardot (*right*), the 73-year-old film icon who was fined 15,000 euros (\$23,000) for provoking discrimination and racial hatred by writing that Muslims are destroying France—her fifth conviction for making controversial remarks about Islam

'We really should have stayed the entire course.'

DENNIS JENSEN, Australian Liberal Party politician, after Prime Minister Kevin Rudd officially ended the country's combat operations in Iraq

'While acting is my career, architecture is my passion.'

BRAD PITT, actor, announcing that he will help design an eco-friendly 800-room luxury hotel in Dubai

'He's a real slimy guy.'

BILL CLINTON, about journalist Todd Purdum, calling him "sleazy," "dishonest" and a "scumbag" after Purdum's *Vanity Fair* article criticized the former President for bringing negative attention to his wife's campaign. Clinton later apologized for his words



The Conversation

Education vs. Diplomacy

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MAY 30
ABDULRAHMAN ABDULLAH

One of seven Palestinians in the Gaza Strip whose Fulbright scholarships were revoked by the U.S. State Department because of Israel's policy of barring students from leaving the Hamas-controlled region "Israel talks about a Palestinian state. But who will build that state if we can get no training?"

MAY 30
CONDOLEEZZA RICE
U.S. Secretary of State,
noting she had previously
been unaware of the issue

"If you cannot engage young people and give complete horizons to their expectations and their dreams, I don't know that there would be any future for Palestine."

JUNE 2
MARK REGEV
Israeli spokesman,
claiming the U.S. hadn't
asked Israel to expedite
the students' visas

"If we weren't aware of a problem, how can anyone expect us to solve it?"

JUNE 2
SEAN MCCORMACK
State Department
spokesman, after
reinstating the scholar-
ships per Rice's orders
"She wasn't pleased."

JUNE 2
ELYAKIM RUBINSTEIN
Israeli Supreme Court
Justice, on granting more
Gazan students the right
to study abroad
"If there are different
opinions, perhaps it is a
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The Page

BY MARK HALPERIN



Read Mark Halperin
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CAMPAIGN SCORECARD

ROUND	1	2	3	4
ISSUE	Iraq	Economy	Party Solidarity	Work Ethic
ACTION	<p>The war is back at center stage, with Democrats badgering John McCain for erroneously saying the number of U.S. troops has been reduced to pre-surge levels and accusing the Senator of focusing on the conflict to avoid talking about the sagging economy. Republicans, meanwhile, have been taunting Barack Obama for failing to visit Iraq to observe conditions on the ground firsthand since 2006.</p>  	<p>With an eye on November, Obama is redoubling his efforts to talk to struggling working-class voters with feel-your-pain intensity and increased specificity about how he would help them as President. His man-of-the-people persona has improved lately but is still a work in progress. McCain continues to sound more like the incoherent Bob Dole than the inspirational Ronald Reagan when talking about tax cuts and the rest of his economic platform.</p>	<p>No matter what Hillary Clinton says about healing the Democratic Party, it seems clear the mistrust between Obama and her (and their respective supporters) runs deep. Finding common allies to smooth things over, like Illinois Congressman Rahm Emanuel,</p>  <p>is essential. On the Republican side, Scott McClellan's book has infuriated many Republicans but has flustered them as well: If you can't trust a longtime Bushie like Scott not to be a turncoat, whom can you trust?</p>	<p>The game of leisure chicken begins: Which candidate will take an extended vacation first?</p>  <p>Preconvention R&R is a campaign standard, but every day on the beach is a day away from a battleground state. McCain has been enjoying the luxurious schedule of the unopposed since March, recently taking weekends off. Democrats have taken notice—and are also worried by Obama's obvious fatigue. Does a close election go to the better rested or the one who works harder?</p>

RESULTS

REPUBLICANS				
DEMOCRATS		✓		
TIE	X		X	X



WINNER OF THE WEEK: Democrats

It was a long, scrappy fight, but Obama at last won his party's nomination. With the prospect of Democratic unity now on his side and an anti-GOP electoral environment, the Republicans begin this phase somewhat on the defensive.

★ Not all rounds are created equal.★

The week's winner is based on the relative importance of each fight and by how much the winner takes each round.

Parsing the Veepstakes

The confidential background checks for John McCain's and Barack Obama's possible running mates are under way, and the oldest rule in politics applies: those in the know probably aren't talking, and those who are talking probably don't know what the candidate really thinks. While neither presumptive nominee is expected to reveal his choice before July, advisers say each is seeking a partner with two main traits: someone qualified to be President and someone the candidate likes.

REPUBLICANS The big surprise has been the bond developing between McCain and one-time rival Mitt Romney. As a competitor, the former Massachusetts governor clearly irritated McCain, but observers say the two now get along famously, with one insider terming them "alpha males" who have moved past their earlier conflicts. One source says that while a group of vice-presidential contenders were enjoying adult beverages recently at McCain's Arizona ranch, the host went out of his way to offer the teetotaling Romney some coffee. Mormons don't drink coffee either, but the gesture was noted.

DEMOCRATS There seems to be little consensus in Obama's camp, but the first hurdle is dealing with Hillary Clinton. While there is no great appetite to have her (and, effectively, her husband) join the team, Obama's advisers recognize the challenge posed by the many Clinton supporters clamoring for her to be picked as his running mate. Some have called the two a potential "dream team," but for Obama, it could become a political nightmare.

A Brief History Of:

The Oil Barrel



IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN A CENTURY SINCE ANY MAJOR producer shipped oil in an actual barrel, but the unit has been the industry's standard since the mid-1800s, when overwhelmed Pennsylvania oilmen collected the substance in whiskey barrels after striking their first gushers. Before U.S. drilling began in 1859, "rock oil" (to differentiate it from vegetable oil or animal fat) was sopped up with rags, wrung out and peddled as a cure for everything from headaches to deafness. Spurred by demand for lamp fuel as whale blubber grew scarce, derricks popped up all over Pennsylvania's oil region in the 1860s—although subsequent overproduction drove prices so far down that at one point, a wooden barrel was worth twice as much as the oil it contained, according to Daniel Yergin's definitive tome on oil, *The Prize*. But as the oil boom took hold and the barrel size was set at 42 gal. (160 L), Pennsylvania's roads became clogged with horse-drawn wagons piled high with the containers, prompting construction of the first oil pipelines (made of wood) and leading 25-year-old John D. Rockefeller to form what became the Standard Oil Co. It would eventually control up to 90% of U.S. oil-refining until the company was broken up in 1911.

Soon after the first long-distance pipelines were laid in the Northeast in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the first oil tankers were allowed to pass through the Suez Canal, and the modern shipping system was born. Today crude oil travels in tankers that can carry up to 4 million bbl. With daily world demand at about 85 million bbl., petroleum represents about a third of all international cargo. And even though the commodity is also measured in kiloliters (in Japan) and metric tons (in Russia), thanks to whiskey, the units are always converted to the 42-gal. barrel for trading and selling.

Drum roll Inspecting oil barrels in India, where steel drums are still sometimes used. Most of our oil is stored in tanks

CRUDE AWAKENING



1859 "Colonel" E.L. Drake drills the first U.S. oil well, in Titusville, Pa.

1866 Oil companies agree to standard barrel size, 42 gal. (160 L), for tax purposes

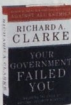


1908 Henry Ford introduces the Model T, creating a massive market for crude

1960 The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is formed

2008 Oil sells for \$135 a bbl., a historic high. U.S. consumers pay more than \$4 per gal. for gasoline

THE SKIMMER



Your Government Failed You

By Richard A. Clarke
Ecco; 408 pages

DURING A DRAMATIC 9/11 commission meeting in 2004, former White House terrorism czar Richard Clarke became one of the few officials who had served in government during the attacks to apologize formally. "Your government failed you," he told victims' families. Since then, not enough has changed, he argues in an alarming new book of that title. From the fruitless hunt for Osama bin Laden to Amtrak security so lax he once boarded a train with a handgun, the counterterrorism expert argues that Uncle Sam isn't getting the job done—leaving the country disturbingly vulnerable to another attack. There's still hope, says Clarke, who left the Bush Administration in 2003, but "we need to start again." He calls for the government to stop outsourcing defense work, cut the bloated Homeland Security payroll and get "political hacks" out of key posts, for starters. But despite the wealth of good advice, this earnest volume offers too many bureaucratic solutions and wishy-washy eight-point action plans to interest most readers who still need convincing.

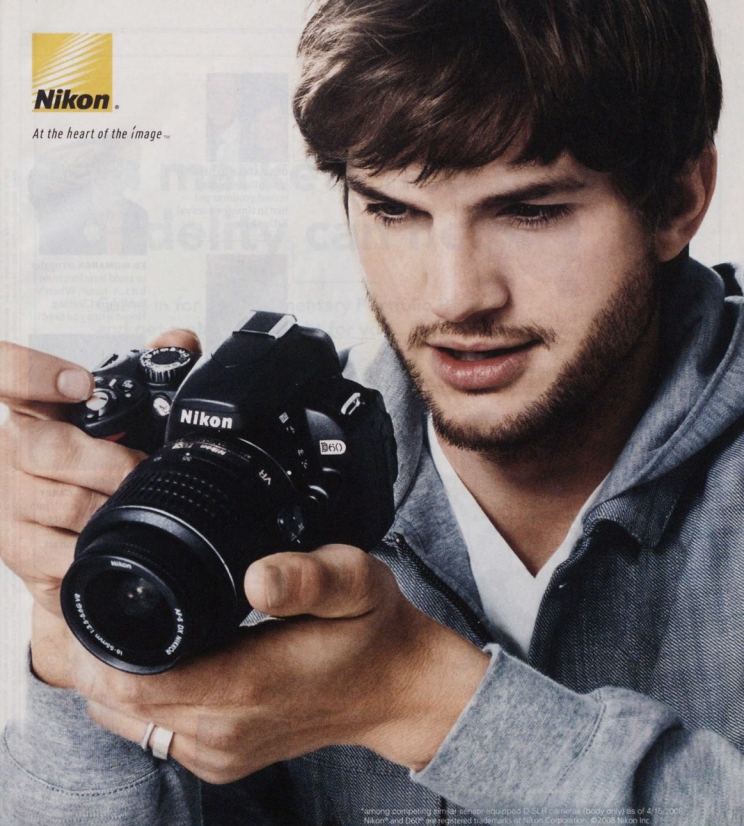
READ

SKIM

TOSS



At the heart of the image™

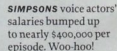
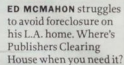
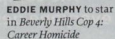
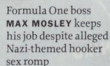
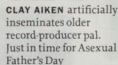
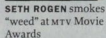
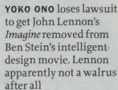
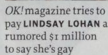
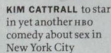
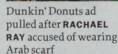
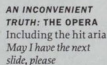


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APPRECIATION

Bo Diddley

APPORTIONING CREDIT FOR THE invention of rock 'n' roll among Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Jerry Lee Lewis and a few other pioneers has always been a challenge. Suffice it to say that **Bo Diddley**, who died at 79 in his home in Archer, Fla., never thought he got enough—and he was right.

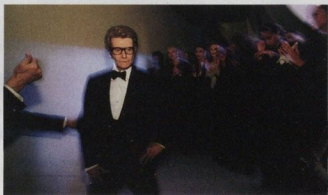
Born Otha Ellas Bates in

Mississippi, Diddley moved to Chicago as a child and learned to make violins and guitars in vocational school before dropping out to play music. When Chess Records showed an interest, a harmonica player supposedly suggested the stage name **Bo Diddley**, slang for a bowlegged fool. A few days later, Diddley made his first professional recording, *Bo Diddley*; it rocketed to No. 1 on the *Billboard* R&B chart and introduced the world to rock's defining rhythm, the Bo Diddley "hambone" beat—bum-bum-bum, bum bum—that's fueled everything from Buddy Holly's *Not Fade Away* to U2's *Desire* to the White Stripes' *Screwdriver*.

Diddley also gave birth to a rock 'n' roll persona—the

baaad man. "I walk 47 miles of barbed wire. I use a cobra snake for a necktie," he sang on *Who Do You Love*. Even though Diddley could sound tough, he was funnier than his peers and more progressive too, employing a series of female musicians at a time when rock was predominantly male. Despite his influence on the Rolling Stones and the Clash, Diddley was rarely credited as one of rock 'n' roll's creators—or paid like one—a fact, he admitted, that made him bitter. But his influence has been acknowledged by contemporary musicians, from the Raconteurs, who cover *Who Do You Love*, to Mos Def, who rapped, "Elvis Presley ain't got no soul/ Bo Diddley is rock 'n' soul."

—BY JOSH TYRANGIEL



APPRECIATION

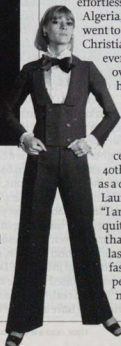
France's Fashion King

WIDELY CONSIDERED THE greatest French couturier of his generation, **Yves Saint Laurent**, who died June 1 in Paris at age 71, was also credited with democratizing fashion and empowering women with his

strong, sexy silhouettes. He famously brought the vernacular of the street to high-fashion runways—with motorcycle jackets, peacoats and berets—and put women in men's clothing, specifically the tuxedo, or *Le Smoking*. Inspired by artists like Mondrian, Picasso and

Matisse, he aimed to make women look beautiful and feel confident. He did both effortlessly. Born in Algeria, Saint Laurent went to work for Christian Dior in Paris, eventually taking over the fashion house after Dior's death in 1957 and starting his own label in 1962. At the celebration of his 40th anniversary as a designer, Saint Laurent told *TIME*, "I am amazed, even quite astounded, that I could have lasted so long in fashion, and that people still love me."

—BY KATE BETTS



DIED During more than a quarter-century as director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, **Anne d'Harnoncourt** became one of the most powerful and respected women in her field, driving a massive expansion-and-renovation project that helped turn the museum's collection of modern and contemporary art into one of the world's finest. Following in the footsteps of her



father René d'Harnoncourt, noted director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, she presided over numerous widely praised

exhibitions, including a large Paul Cézanne retrospective in 1996 and a showing of Salvador Dalí's later work in 2005. She died of a heart attack at age 64.

■ A Northwestern University sociologist and Army veteran, **Charles Moskos** pushed President Bill Clinton's Joint Chiefs of Staff to adopt the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy for gays and lesbians in the military, arguing that while the policy was not ideal, openly gay soldiers could undermine the morale of their comrades. A draftee who served for two years in the 1950s, he never lost his dedication to the military or his belief that all citizens should give back to their country. He was 74.

■ An Emmy-winning actor and a regular on *The Carol Burnett Show* for more than a decade, **Harvey Korman** got his start in sketch comedy with appearances on *The Red Skelton Show* in 1961. But it was his work as a straight man opposite Burnett's over-the-top characters that truly marked him as a comic genius. He also graced the big screen, notably as the conniving Hedley Lamarr in the 1974 western comedy *Blazing Saddles*. He was 81.



Joe

Klein

Come Together. Though she lost the nomination, Hillary Clinton ran a remarkable campaign. How she conducts herself now could unite—or destroy—the Democrats

THERE SHE WAS, YET AGAIN, THIS TIME in Rapid City, S.D. This time her name was Margaret Dinock, but she was part of a national Greek chorus, haunting the rope lines of every candidate in every Democratic primary this year. As almost always, she was middle-aged and working class, with a desperate tale to tell, usually about health care. And this time, in classic Hellenic fashion on the last day of the Democratic primary season, she offered narrative punctuation: a gray sweatshirt with a picture of a vehemently orange car screeching to a halt at a highway barrier and the words *THE END OF THE ROAD*. I am not sure that Hillary Clinton noticed the sweatshirt, but she immediately understood what the woman was about. "Will you be able to get me health care?" Dinock asked, eyes welling, then overflowing. "I've had seizures since I was a child. I work three jobs. I can't get health insurance." Clinton squeezed her arm and listened carefully, then reassured her that everyone would be covered under the Clinton health-care plan and moved on.

Afterward, I approached Dinock—a splendidly candid and effusive woman—and she told a less careful version. "Look, I'm 38 years old. I'm Caucasian. I've got no kids. No one cares about people like me," she said. When I asked her what she actually did for health care, she laughed and said, "I'm on the K-Y jelly plan. I get it up the you-know-where."

Ahhh, America. As Dinock told her joke, I wondered how Hillary Clinton would have reacted if she had been there

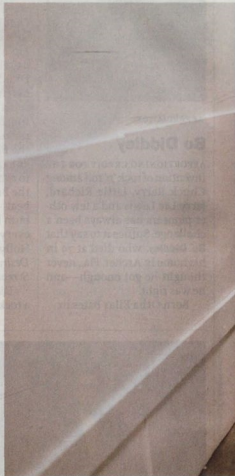
to hear it. I know how she would have reacted a year ago: with an awkward chill, a brisk Methodist propriety. These days, though, I imagine Clinton would have thrown back her head and guffawed. And maybe said something like "Ain't that the truth." That has been Hillary Clinton's story this year: she has learned how to be at ease with people like Margaret Dinock, and has come to believe that she—and only she—can adequately represent them in the White House. She mentions them in every speech. Actually, it's more than that: they are the throbbing heart of every speech for a candidate who, in the beginning, rarely showed any heart at all.

And yet, in the end, Clinton seemed as deluded by the Greek chorus as she'd been inspired by it. After all, Barack Obama had been hearing from the very same sorts of people all year. And if he had not been as successful in gaining the support of working class Caucasians, that had been as much a consequence of their prejudices as it was of his Ivy-cool mien. His army of young idealists, the brilliant organizers who had built his campaign from the ground up in Iowa and elsewhere, had won this nomination fair and square, and his nervously proud African-American supporters—never far from tears—were every bit as moving as Clinton's suffering Caucasians.

Taken together, the Democratic Party that Clinton and Obama have assembled would make quite an army: Franklin Roosevelt's working people plus John Kennedy's college-educated young people and civil rights marchers. It is a coalition that seems to assemble only in bad times, goaded by economic depressions, social-justice crusades or ill-advised wars. This year, with more than 80% of the public thinking the country is moving in the wrong direction and even the presumed Republican nominee, John McCain, acknowledging the national jitters, the Democratic army seems poised to come together again. The sad reality is, though, that the coalition will have a chance to coalesce

only if Hillary Clinton blesses the union.

Which is why Clinton's ungracious and solipsistic speech on the night of Obama's triumph was so disappointing. She acknowledged Obama briefly, as a candidate but not as the nominee, then proceeded to a paean to her working-class supporters... and to herself. "In the millions of quiet moments, in thousands of places, you asked yourself a simple question: Who will be the strongest candidate and the strongest President?" she said, and then repeated the dubious claim that she had "won" the popular vote. She may have considered this the opening salvo in a tough round of



The Democratic Party that Clinton and Obama have assembled would make quite an army. But the coalition will have a chance to coalesce only if she blesses the union

Tête-à-tête A day after the final primaries, the Democratic candidates huddle behind the scenes at the AIPAC summit in Washington



negotiation with Obama about her place in the party and perhaps on the ticket, but it came across as yet another demonstration of her ill-concealed belief that Obama would be a defective and ultimately unsuccessful general-election candidate.

In the days before this graceless dénouement, Clinton's inner circle seemed split about how to proceed. Those closest to the candidate were bitter and had taken to rehearsing small grievances distorted by the campaign echo chamber—that Obama's aides had exploited Clinton's gaffe when she inappropriately raised the specter of Robert Kennedy's assassina-

tion, that Obama hadn't defended Clinton sufficiently after the disgraceful attack by Father Michael Pfleger from the pulpit of Trinity United Church of Christ, that the Obama campaign had played too rough in the Democratic Rules Committee battle, which granted the disputed Michigan and Florida delegations half representation. There was, more significantly, the lingering conviction that Obama didn't, and couldn't possibly, represent the women like Margaret Dinock who had been empowered by Clinton—that Obama was another iteration of the effete Al Gore–John Kerry presidential model. It seemed

clear that Clinton had convinced herself that she was now that constituency's representative at the bargaining table, that the manner of her leaving the campaign was not really about her but about them.

It would be wise for Obama to grant her that conceit, up to a point. She, more than he, has the power to unite or destroy the party. The question for Clinton is, How does she go about cashing in her chips? By forcing a tough, immediate negotiation with Obama over the vice presidency and other issues or by making an immediate show of her desire to strengthen Obama for the coming fray? A number of Clinton's top advisers, especially in the finance and policy realms, thought Clinton's best course of action was to make herself immediately indispensable: offer her fund-raising team to Obama, offer to barnstorm with him through states where she did well, like Ohio and Pennsylvania, offer to mobilize her key constituencies—like women and Latinos—for Obama in a series of joint rallies. It seemed obvious that if she pressed her unlikely case for the vice presidency too aggressively, Obama would have to deny it or risk seeming weak and unpresidential. Given the freight train of personal baggage and supertanker-size egos the Clintons transport, it would probably be best for her not to press it at all.

The Clinton campaign has been a revelation. Her early insistence on a conservative, consultant-driven campaign was revealed as anachronistic and too synthetic in the sparkling intensity of this year's election. Her husband's strengths were humbled by his flaws; his wholesome bitterness overwhelmed his retail campaigning. But the greatest revelation was Hillary Clinton herself—a fabulously skilled candidate and a compelling human being, one of the very rare politicians who found her soul during a campaign, rather than losing it. She needs to find a way to savor that now, without standing in the way of her party's future. ■



How He Did It



A moment to savor

Obama and wife Michelle, center right, surrounded by close aides and advisers, prepare to go onstage before his victory speech in St. Paul, Minn.

By building a new political machine, Barack Obama became the first insurgent Democrat in decades to dethrone a front runner. In an exclusive interview, he describes his path to a historic victory

BY KAREN TUMULTY

BARACK OBAMA WAS CAMPAIGNING last October in South Carolina when he got an urgent call from Penny Pritzker, the hotel heiress who leads his campaign's finance committee. About 200 of his biggest fund raisers were meeting in Des Moines, Iowa, and among them, near panic was setting in. Pritzker's team had raised money faster than any other campaign ever had. Its candidate was drawing mega-crowds wherever he went. Yet he was still running at least 20 points behind Hillary Clinton in polls. His above-the-fray brand of politics just wasn't getting the job done, and some of his top money men were urging him to rethink his strategy, shake up his staff, go negative. You'd better get here, Pritzker told Obama. And fast.

Obama made an unscheduled appearance that Sunday night and called for a show of hands from his finance committee. "Can I see how many people in this room I told that this was going to be easy?" he asked. "If anybody signed up thinking it was going to be easy, then I didn't make myself clear." A win in Iowa, Obama promised, would give him the momentum he needed to win across the map—but his backers wouldn't see much evidence of progress before then. "We're up against the most formidable team in 25 years," he said. "But we've got a plan, and we've got to have faith in it."

More than seven months later, that faith has been rewarded. The 2008 presidential campaign has produced its share of sur-

prises, but one of the most important is that a newcomer from Chicago put together by far the best political operation of either party. Obama's campaign has been that rare, frictionless machine that runs with the energy of an insurgency and the efficiency of a corporation. His team has lacked what his rivals' have specialized in: there have been no staff shake-ups, no financial crises, no change in game plan and no visible strife.

Even its campaign slogan—"Change we can believe in"—has remained the same.

How did he do it? How did Obama become the first Democratic insurgent in a generation or more to knock off the party's Establishment front runner? Facing an operation as formidable as Clinton's, Obama says in an interview, "was liberating... What I'd felt was that we could try some things in a different way and build an organization that





The end of the beginning As Obama nears the delegate total he needs for the Democratic nomination, he and Michelle relax on their campaign plane

reflected my personality and what I thought the country was looking for. We didn't have to unlearn a bunch of bad habits."

When Betsy Myers first met with Obama in his Senate office on Jan. 3, 2007, about two weeks before he announced he was forming an exploratory committee to run for President, Obama laid down three ruling principles for his future chief operating officer: Run the campaign with

respect; build it from the bottom up; and finally, no drama. Myers was struck by how closely Obama had studied the two campaigns of George W. Bush. "He said he wanted to run our campaign like a business," says Myers. And in a good business, the customer is king. Early on, before it had the resources to do much else, the campaign outsourced a "customer-service center" so that anyone who called, at any

hour of the day or night, would find a human voice on the other end of the line.

Meanwhile, Obama's Chicago headquarters made technology its running mate from the start. That wasn't just for fund-raising: in state after state, the campaign turned over its voter lists—normally a closely guarded crown jewel—to volunteers, who used their own laptops and the unlimited night and weekend minutes of their cell-phone plans to contact every name and populate a political organization from the ground up. "The tools were there, and they built it," says Joe Trippi, who ran Howard Dean's 2004 campaign. "In a lot of ways, the Dean campaign was like the Wright brothers. Four years later, we're watching the Apollo project."

Even Obama admits he did not expect the Internet to be such a good friend. "What I didn't anticipate was how effectively we could use the Internet to harness that grass-roots base, both on the financial side and the organizing side," Obama says. "That, I think, was probably one of the biggest surprises of the campaign, just how powerfully our message merged with the social networking and the power of the Internet." But three other fundamentals were crucial to making Obama the Democratic nominee:

A Brave New Party

IN MOST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, THE Iowa caucuses are an anomaly. Competing there is a complicated, labor-intensive undertaking that, once finished, is cast off as an oddity and never repeated. But in 2008 it became for Obama the road test of a youth-oriented, technology-fueled organization and the model for many of the wins that followed. It was also a challenge to history. The iron rule of Iowa had always been that caucusgoers tended to look the same year in and year out: older people, union households, party stalwarts—just the kind of folks who would seem more inclined to back Clinton or John Edwards—trudging out into the cold night for a few hours of political conversation. Instead, Obama saw the Iowa caucuses as a chance to put a stake through Clinton's inevitability. "Mission No. 1 was finishing ahead of Hillary Clinton in Iowa," recalls Obama campaign manager David Plouffe. "If we hadn't done that, it would have been hard to stop her."

But counting on new voters had proved disastrous for Dean in 2004. The Obama campaign knew that it would have to build a network of Iowans rather than supporters brought in from other parts of the country, says Plouffe, but "we didn't have to accept the electorate as it is." At bottom, Obama

built a new party in 2008. It was difficult. Not until the morning of the caucuses did the campaign reach its goal of 97,000 Iowans pledged to support Obama that it thought it would need to win. Then came the real question: Would these people show up?

Show up they did, shattering turnout records. Obama prevailed with a surprising eight-point margin over Edwards, who came in second. Obama counts Iowa as his biggest victory, the one that foreshadowed the rest. "Voters under 30 participated at the same rates as voters over 65. That had never happened before," the Democratic nominee says. "That continues to be something I'm very proud of—how we've expanded the voter rolls in every state where we've campaigned. I think that means we can put into play some states that might normally not be in play."

The Iowa playbook, as everyone now knows, hasn't always worked. In Texas, for instance, the grass-roots operation counted on more African-American voters than actually turned out. In California, organizers expected more young voters. But while Obama rarely managed a clean win against Clinton in the big states—the ones that will count

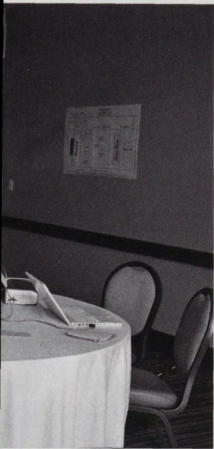
Trail's end On one of the last days of a race that lasted longer than most thought it would, onetime front runner Clinton prepares a speech at a hotel in San Juan, P.R.

most in the fall—he kept winning delegates even when he lost primaries. By April, it became almost mathematically impossible for Clinton to catch him.

The Key-Chain Campaign

ATLANTA BUSINESSMAN KIRK DORNBUSH has raised millions of dollars for the Democratic Party and its candidates over the past 16 years. Before campaign-finance laws banned unregulated soft money, he recalls, there were times he walked around with six-figure checks in both pockets of his jacket. But these days, he does much of his fund-raising in a much humbler fashion: selling \$3 key chains and \$25 T-shirts at Obama rallies. At the first merchandise table Dornbush set up for a Georgia event, "we were just completely sold out," he says. "There were lines of people. It was unbelievable."





Podcast

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with Obama at time.com/obamainterview

"You plant a seed, and you get much more."

Obama uses a different frame of reference. "As somebody who had been a community organizer," Obama recalls, "I was convinced that if you invited people to get engaged, if you weren't trying to campaign like you were selling soap but instead said, 'This is your campaign, you own it, and you can run with it,' that people would respond and we could build a new electoral map." The chum stores, the e-mail obsession and the way Obama organizations sprang up organically in almost every congressional district in the country meant that by the time Obama's field organizers arrived in a state, all they had to do was fire up an engine that had already been designed and built locally. "We had to rely on the grass roots, and we had clarity on that from the beginning," says Plouffe.

By contrast, the Clinton campaign, which started out with superior resources and the mantle of inevitability, was a top-down operation in which decision-making rested with a small coterie of longtime aides. Her state organizers often got mixed signals from the headquarters near Washington. Decisions from Hillaryland often came too late for her field organization to execute. Obama's bottom-up philosophy also helps explain why he was able to sweep the organization-heavy caucus states, which were so crucial to building up his insurmountable lead in pledged delegates. What was not appreciated by many at the time: while Clinton spent heavily in every state she contested, Obama's approach saved money. Says Dean campaign veteran Trippi: "His volunteers were organizing his caucus victories for free."

Obama Means No Drama

THE TEAM THAT OBAMA PUT TOGETHER was a mix of people who, for the most part, had never worked together before but behaved as if they had. Some—like chief strategist David Axelrod and adviser Valerie Jarrett—came from Chicago and had advised Obama in earlier races. Axelrod's business partner Plouffe had worked in former House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt's operation; deputy campaign manager Steve Hildebrand, who oversaw the field organization, had come from former Senate majority leader Tom Daschle's. Daschle's former chief of staff Pete Rouse served that same role in Obama's Sen-

ate office, from which the candidate also brought aboard communications director Robert Gibbs, who had briefly worked for John Kerry. Obama tapped the business world as well, filling key operational posts with executives who had worked for Orbitz, McDonald's and other firms.

And yet, Obama says, they all had the same philosophy. "Because I was not favored, that meant that the people who signed up for this campaign really believed in what the campaign was about. So they weren't mercenaries. They weren't coming in to just attach to a campaign," he explains. Temperament mattered too. "It was very important to have a consistent team," Obama says, "a circle of people who were collaborative and nondefensive."

Like the team around Bush, Obama's is watertight. Leaks are rare, and for all the millions Obama has raked in, Plouffe keeps a sharp eye on where it is going. Consider the salaries: Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson was paid almost twice as much in a month—\$266,000 went to his firm, according to her January campaign filing—as the \$144,000 that Obama paid Gibbs for all of last year. Obama staffers are expected to double up in hotel rooms when they are on the road and are reimbursed by the campaign if they take the subway (about \$2) to the downtown-Chicago campaign headquarters from O'Hare International Airport but not if they take a cab (about \$50). Volunteers are asked to take along their own food when they are canvassing.

How will a team that has been living off the land fare against the kind of GOP operation that was so effective at turning out the traditional Republican base in 2004? John McCain's campaign manager, Rick Davis, flatly declares that what got Obama the nomination "is not a general-election strategy" and contends that Obama's operation will be weak against McCain's crossover appeal in such states as Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Nevada.

Maybe so, but compared with McCain's, Obama's operation has been a model of efficiency—and executive function. Obama has already changed the way politics is practiced in America—and he is poised to keep doing so. After delivering his dramatic victory speech in St. Paul, Minn., Obama walked offstage and spent the next 45 minutes signing dozens and dozens of his books that had been brought to the Xcel Center by admirers. When he finished, he happened to see fund raiser Dornbush and told him, "Enjoy the celebration tonight." Then Obama took a few steps, turned around and added, "But it's right back to work tomorrow." ■

Dornbush's experience explains the second fundamental change Obama has brought to politics: his campaign was built from the bottom up. Even fund-raising, once the realm of the richest in politics, became a grass-roots organizational tool. At nearly every event this year, Team Obama set up little tabletop trinket shops, known as "chum stores" because all those little Obama-branded doodads aren't only keepsakes; they are also bait. Every person who buys a button or hat is recorded as a campaign donor. But the real goal of the chum operations was building a list of workers, supporters and their e-mail addresses.

A similar innovation came in fund-raising. Normally, it is only the big donors who get quality time with a candidate. But Obama devoted far more of his schedule to small-dollar events. In Kentucky, the month after he announced his run for President, the first such effort quickly sold out all 3,200 tickets at \$25 a head—and produced the beginning of a local organization. "It's the difference between hunting and farming," says Obama moneyman Matthew Barzun, 37, the Louisville Internet-publishing entrepreneur who arranged the event.

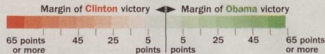


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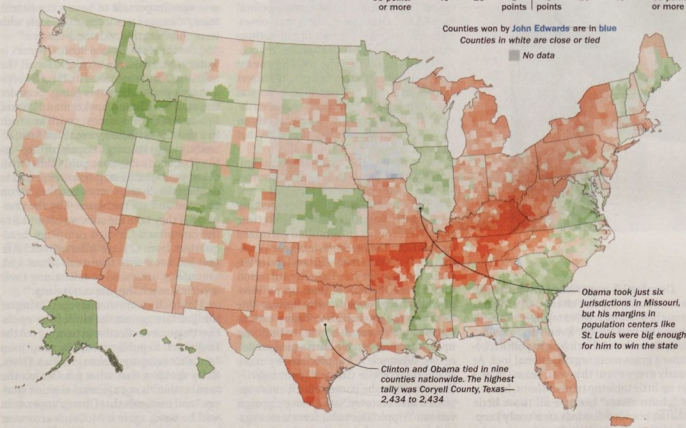
How They Voted

A detailed breakdown of the Democratic primaries shows both candidates' strongholds and vulnerabilities

REGIONAL RIVALRIES In addition to taking most big cities, Barack Obama won across the Deep South, in Illinois and in the Mountain West. Hillary Clinton's power base stretched up the spine of the Appalachians



Counties won by John Edwards are in blue
Counties in white are close or tied
No data



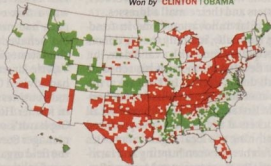
WHERE THE VOTES ARE This map shows only those counties in which more than 10,000 people voted

Won by CLINTON | OBAMA



BLOWOUTS This map shows only those counties in which the margin of victory was more than 25 percentage points

Won by CLINTON | OBAMA



TIME Maps by Joe Lertola

NOTES: Two Michigan counties were won by "uncommitted"; Obama was not on the ballot in that state. Kansas votes are shown by state-senate district rather than county. Alaska, North Dakota and Puerto Rico do not report votes by county. Nebraska, Texas and Washington held both primaries and caucuses; the maps show primary-election results. Vote totals are from uselectionatlas.org, CNN and state Democratic parties

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Gender Bender

Hillary Clinton was the strongest female presidential contender ever. Why didn't more women vote for her?

AMY KLOBUCHAR WAS A SWING VOTER this year. At the outset of the 2008 race, the 48-year-old Senator from Minnesota was exactly the kind of voter Hillary Clinton's campaign was counting on. Women a generation older would be safely in their camp. Younger women would be susceptible to Obamamania. Clinton's team thought that those in Klobuchar's demographic—professional, well-educated women who came of age during the modern women's movement—would be moved by the very real opportunity to put one of their own in the White House.

It hasn't quite worked out that way. While Klobuchar's 80-year-old mother is an ardent Clinton supporter and her adolescent daughter is "all about Barack," the Senator voted for Obama. "He has transcended traditional politics," she says.

One of the Democratic campaign's great misperceptions has been that Clinton held an overwhelming advantage among women voters. But that isn't the case. As expected, Clinton captured the over-65 vote, and Obama won over younger women. But women in the middle split almost evenly between the two. And while both Senators boasted historic candidacies, Obama's seemed to resonate more deeply, translating into 70%, 80% and even 90% of the black vote in primary contests. No one expected Clinton to sweep 90% of Democratic women voters, but 60% wouldn't have been an unreasonable accomplishment for the first woman to have a serious chance of winning the presidency. Instead, Clinton won just over a majority of women's votes.

'He's the girl in the race, the person bringing people together and offering messages of hope and reconciliation.'

—MARIE WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT

So what does that mean? Clinton and her supporters have charged that sexism is responsible for her loss of the nomination. But it seems more likely that women themselves cost her the nod. The reasons more women haven't voted for Clinton tell us something about the evolution of feminism and what the future may hold for female politicians.

Clinton's run has exposed a divide between what could be termed optimist and pessimist feminists. It's a split between those who see Clinton's candidacy as

become President or that it will occur in their lifetime. When these women look around, they see themselves making up half of business- and medical-school classes. They are law partners, CEOs and university presidents. And they don't want to rally behind a female candidate simply because she is a woman.

Women often tell me it's important to get more of them elected so they can change the tenor of politics. But that goal has faced some tough choices in the Democratic contest. "He's the girl in the

race," explains Marie Wilson, head of the White House Project, a nonprofit that helps women move into positions of leadership. "Clinton came out tough; she voted for the war. Obama came out as the person bringing people together and offering messages of hope and reconciliation."

Although Klobuchar approvingly cites Obama's practice of feminine politics ("He uses things like the Jeremiah Wright controversy as teachable moments"), she



Point of view Clinton supporters rally for their candidate in Yankton, S.D., the day before the state's primary

groundbreaking—as the first of many serious runs by strong women—and those who count backward to Geraldine Ferraro in 1984 and conclude that this kind of opportunity comes along only once in a generation. For this latter group, Clinton's candidacy took on a pressing urgency: If not now, when? If not her, who?

What unites the pessimists—many of whom are older women or women who don't work outside the home—is the persistent belief that women continue to face sexism and barriers in the workplace. Some may have an outmoded sense of the obstacles women face on the job, while others may well have left a workplace that made it hard for them to maintain a work-life balance. In both cases, they're more likely to place value in the symbolic power of electing a woman President.

Optimist feminists, on the other hand, don't question that a woman can

knows as well as anyone that female politicians still face some skepticism. Three months into her Senate tenure, Klobuchar was in an elevator with some aides when a cor colleague entered and gently chided them for taking the Senators-only elevator.

Yet Klobuchar doesn't feel she has to prove she belongs. And thanks to Clinton, neither will the next women who run for President. Clinton has shattered long-standing assumptions about whether a woman could seriously compete for the White House. She not only avoided the label of "novelty candidate," but embraced that of "inevitable nominee." She mopped the floor with her opponents in debates. "This will only help women candidates," says Klobuchar. In that sense, the biggest legacy of Clinton's run may prove to be some sisterly competition the next time around. ■

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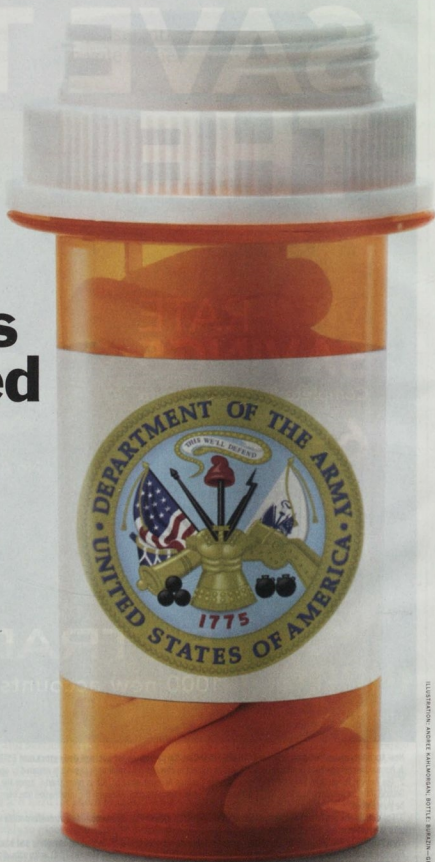


NATION

America's Medicated Army

As wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have stretched the U.S. military to the breaking point, the Pentagon has quietly okayed the use of antidepressants by stressed-out troops. A TIME investigation reveals combat's heavy toll on their mental health—and why the military's efforts to treat it may be making the problem worse

BY MARK THOMPSON



S EVEN MONTHS AFTER SERGEANT Christopher Lefeune started scouting Baghdad's dangerous roads—acting as bait to lure insurgents into the open so his Army unit could kill them—he found himself growing increasingly despondent. “We’d been doing some heavy missions, and things were starting to bother me,” Lefeune says. His unit had been protecting Iraqi police stations targeted by rocket-propelled grenades, hunting down mortars hidden in dark Baghdad basements and cleaning up its own messes. He recalls the order his unit got after a nighttime firefight to roll back out and collect the enemy dead. When Lefeune and his buddies arrived, they discovered that some of the bodies were still alive. “You don’t always know who the bad guys are,” he says. “When you search someone’s house, you have it built up in your mind that these guys are terrorists, but when you go in, there’s little bitty tiny shoes and toys on the floor—things like that started affecting me a lot more than I thought they would.”

So Lefeune visited a military doctor in Iraq, who, after a quick session, diagnosed depression. The doctor sent him back to war armed with the antidepressant Zoloft and the anti-anxiety drug clonazepam. “It’s not easy for soldiers to admit the problems that they’re having over there for a variety of reasons,” Lefeune says. “If they do admit it, then the only solution given is pills.”

While the headline-grabbing weapons in this war have been high-tech wonders, like unmanned drones that drop Hellfire missiles on the enemy below, troops like Lefeune are going into battle with a different kind of weapon, one so stealthy that few Americans even know of its deployment. For the first time in history, a siz-

able and growing number of U.S. combat troops are taking daily doses of antidepressants to calm nerves strained by repeated and lengthy tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. The medicines are intended not only to help troops keep their cool but also to enable the already strapped Army to preserve its most precious resource: soldiers on the front lines. Data contained in the Army’s fifth Mental Health Advisory Team report indicate that, according to an anonymous survey of U.S. troops taken last fall, about 12% of combat troops in Iraq and 17% of those in Afghanistan are taking prescription antidepressants or sleeping pills to help them cope. Escalating violence in Afghanistan and the more isolated mission have driven troops to rely more on medication there than in Iraq, military officials say.

At a Pentagon that keeps statistics on just about everything, there is no central clearinghouse for this kind of data, and the Army hasn’t consistently asked about prescription-drug use, which makes it difficult to track. Given the traditional stigma associated with soldiers seeking mental help, the survey, released in March, probably underestimates antidepressant use. But if the Army numbers reflect those of

At a Pentagon that keeps statistics on just about everything, there is no central clearinghouse for this information

other services—the Army has by far the most troops deployed to the war zones—about 20,000 troops in Afghanistan and Iraq were on such medications last fall. The Army estimates that authorized drug use splits roughly fifty-fifty between troops taking antidepressants—largely the class of drugs that includes Prozac and Zoloft—and those taking prescription sleeping pills like Ambien.

In some ways, the prescriptions may seem unremarkable. Generals, history shows, have plied their troops with medicinal palliatives at least since George Washington ordered rum rations at Valley Forge. During World War II, the Nazis fueled their blitzkrieg into France and Poland with the help of an amphetamine known as Pervitin. The U.S. Army also used amphetamines during the Vietnam War.

The military’s rising use of antidepressants also reflects their prevalence in the civilian population. In 2004, the last year for which complete data for the U.S. are available, doctors wrote 147 million prescriptions for antidepressants, according to IMS Health, a pharmaceutical-market-research firm. This number reflects in part the common practice of cycling through different medications to find the most effective drug. A 2006 federally funded study found that 70% of those taking antidepressants along with therapy experience some improvement in mood.

When it comes to fighting wars, though, troops have historically been barred from using such drugs in combat. And soldiers—who are younger and healthier on average than the general population—have been prescreened for mental illnesses before enlisting.

The increase in the use of medication among U.S. troops suggests the heavy

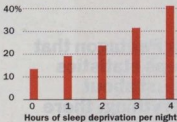


Sleep-deprived U.S. soldiers taking a breather last fall as they perform house-to-house searches outside Muqadadiyah, north of Baghdad

mental and psychological price being paid by soldiers fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan. Pentagon surveys show that while all soldiers deployed to a war zone will feel stressed, 70% will manage to bounce back to normalcy. But about 20% will suffer from what the military calls "temporary stress injuries," and 10% will be afflicted with "stress illnesses." Such ailments, according to briefings commanders get before deploying, begin with mild anxiety and irritability, difficulty sleeping, and growing feelings of apathy and pessimism. As the condition worsens, the feelings last longer and can come to include panic, rage, uncontrolled shaking and temporary paralysis. The symptoms often continue back home, playing a key role in broken marriages, suicides and psychiatric breakdowns. The mental trauma has become so common that the Pentagon may expand the list of "qualifying wounds" for a Purple Heart—historically limited to those physically injured on the battlefield—to include posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Defense Secretary Robert Gates said on May 2 that it's "clearly

Soldiers in Iraq sleep an average of 5.6 hours a night, far less than the 7 to 8 hours needed for peak performance

Percentage of soldiers screening positive for a mental-health problem*



*Among males, ranks of private through corporal/specialist, who have been in Iraq for nine months or more

Source: Mental Health Advisory Team V report, March 2008, which includes a survey of 2,279 U.S. soldiers in Iraq and 889 in Afghanistan

something" that needs to be considered, and the Pentagon is weighing the change.

Using drugs to cope with battlefield traumas is not discussed much outside the Army, but inside the service it has been the subject of debate for years. "No magic pill can erase the image of a best friend's shattered body or assuage the guilt from having traded duty with him that day," says *Combat Stress Injury*, a 2006 medical book edited by Charles Figley and William Nash that details how troops can be helped by such drugs. "Medication can, however, alleviate some debilitating and nearly intolerable symptoms of combat and operational stress injuries" and "help restore personnel to full functioning capacity."

Which means that any drug that keeps a soldier deployed and fighting also saves money on training and deploying replacements. But there is a downside: the number of soldiers requiring long-term mental-health services soars with repeated deployments and lengthy combat tours. If troops do not get sufficient time away from combat—both while in theater and during the "dwell time" at home before

they go back to war—it's possible that antidepressants and sleeping aids will be used to stretch an already taut force even tighter. "This is what happens when you try to fight a long war with an army that wasn't designed for a long war," says Lawrence Korb, Pentagon personnel chief during the Reagan Administration.

Military families wonder about the change, according to Joyce Raeyer of the private National Military Family Association. "Boy, it's really nice to have these drugs," she recalls a military doctor saying, "so we can keep people deployed." And professionals have their doubts. "Are we trying to bandage up what is essentially an insufficient fighting force?" asks Dr. Frank Ochberg, a veteran psychiatrist and founding board member of the International Society for Traumatic Stress Studies.

Such questions have assumed greater urgency as more is revealed about the side effects of some mental-health medications. Last year the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) urged the makers of antidepressants to expand a 2004 "black box" warning that the drugs may increase the risk of suicide in children and adolescents. The agency asked for—and got—an expanded warning that included young adults ages 18 to 24, the age group at the heart of the Army. The question now is whether there is a link between the increased use of the drugs in the Iraqi and Afghan theaters and the rising suicide rate in those places. There have been 164 Army suicides in Afghanistan and Iraq from the wars' start through 2007, and the annual rate there is now double the service's 2001 rate.

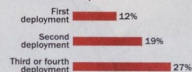
At least 115 soldiers killed themselves last year, including 36 in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Army said on May 29. That's the highest toll since it started keeping such records in 1980. Nearly 40% of Army suicide victims in 2006 and 2007 took psychotropic drugs—overwhelmingly, selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) like Prozac and Zoloft. While the Army cites failed relationships as the primary cause, some outside experts sense a link between suicides and prescription drug use—though there is also no way of knowing how many suicide attempts the antidepressants may have prevented by improving a soldier's spirits. "The high percentage of U.S. soldiers attempting suicide after taking SSRIs should raise serious concerns," says Dr. Joseph Glenmullen, who teaches psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. "And there's no question they're using them to prop people up in difficult circumstances."

The Trauma of War

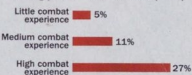
BEFORE THE ADVENT OF SSRIS—LILLY'S Prozac was the first to be approved by the

The mental health of soldiers deteriorates with more combat and repeated tours

Percentage screening positive for a mental-health problem*



Percentage of soldiers in Afghanistan screening positive for acute stress (PTSD)



*Among male sergeants who have been in Iraq for nine months or more.
Source: Mental Health Advisory Team V report, March 2008

FDA, in 1987, followed by Zoloft from Pfizer, Paxil from GlaxoSmithKline, Celexa from Forest Pharmaceuticals and others—existing antidepressants had many disabling side effects. Impaired memory and judgment, dizziness, drowsiness and other complications made them ill suited for troops in combat. The newer drugs have fewer side effects and, unlike earlier drugs, are generally not addictive or toxic, even when taken in large quantities. They work by keeping neural connections bathed in a brain chemical known as serotonin. That amplifies serotonin's mood-brightening effect, at least for some people.

In 1994 then Major E. Cameron Ritchie, an Army psychiatrist, was among the first to suggest that SSRIs should deploy with Army combat units. In a paper written and published after she returned from a combat deployment to Somalia, Ritchie noted that the sick-call chests used by military doctors "contain either outdated or no psychiatric medications." She concluded, "If depressive symptoms are moderate and manageable, medication may be preferable to medical evacuation."

By 1999, military docs were debating the matter among themselves. Nash, a Navy psychiatrist, wrote that Navy doctors—who also provide Marines with medical care—had "sharp differences of opinion" over letting troops in war zones use SSRIs. Skeptics argued that their "real

safety" in combat had not been proved. Supporters countered that their use could "avoid depleting manpower resources and damaging individual careers through unnecessary removals from operational duty." Nash reviewed the medical literature and reported that SSRIs "can be safely administered to deploying and deployed personnel."

The trickle of new drugs became a flood after the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Details of America's medicated wars come from the mental-health surveys the Army has conducted each year since the war began. If the surveys are right, many U.S. soldiers experience a common but haunting mismatch in combat life: while nearly two-thirds of the soldiers surveyed in Iraq in 2006 knew someone who had been killed or wounded, fewer than 15% knew for certain that they had actually killed a member of the enemy in return. That imbalance between seeing the price of war up close and yet not feeling able to do much about it, the survey suggests, contributes to feelings of "intense fear, helplessness or horror" that plant the seeds of mental distress. "A friend was liquefied in the driver's position on a tank, and I saw everything," was a typical comment. Another: "A huge f— bomb blew my friend's head off like 50 meters from me." Such indelible scenes—and wondering when and where the next one will happen—are driving thousands of soldiers to take antidepressants, military psychiatrists say. It's not hard to imagine why.

Repeated deployments to the war zones also contribute to the onset of mental-health problems. Nearly 30% of troops on their third deployment suffer from serious mental-health problems, a top Army psychiatrist told Congress in March. The doctor, Colonel Charles Hoge, added that recent research has shown the current 12 months between combat tours "is insufficient time" for soldiers "to reset" and recover from the stress of a combat tour before heading back to war.

Colonel Joseph Horam says antidepressants have made "a striking difference" in the way troops are treated in war. A doctor in the Wyoming Army National Guard, Horam served in Saudi Arabia during the first Gulf War and has been deployed to Iraq twice during this war. "In the Persian Gulf War, we didn't have these medications, so our basic philosophy was 'three hot and a cot'—giving stressed troops a little rest and relaxation to see if they improved. 'If they didn't get better right away, they'd need to head to the rear and probably out of theater.' But in his most recent stint in Baghdad in 2006,

he treated a soldier who guarded Iraqi detainees. "He was distraught while he was having high-level interactions with detainees, having emotional confrontations with them—and carrying weapons," Horam says. "But he was part of a highly trained team, and we didn't want to lose him. So we put him on an SSRI, and within a week, he was a new person, and we got him back to full duty."

It wasn't until November 2006 that the Pentagon set a uniform policy for all the services. But the curious thing about it was that it didn't mention the new antidepressants. Instead, it simply barred troops from taking older drugs, including "lithium, anticonvulsants and antipsychotics." The goal, a participant in crafting the policy said, was to give SSRIs a "green light" without saying so. Last July, a paper published by three military psychiatrists in *Military Medicine*, the independent journal of the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States, urged military doctors headed for Afghanistan and Iraq to "request a considerable quantity of the SSRI they are most comfortable prescribing" for the "treatment of new-onset depressive disorders" once in the war zones. The medications, the doctors concluded, help "to conserve the fighting strength," the motto of the Army Medical Corps.

These days Ritchie—now a colonel and a psychiatric consultant to the Army surgeon general—thinks the military's use of SSRIs has helped destigmatize mental problems. "What we're trying to do is make treating depression and PTSD—especially PTSD, which is quite common for soldiers now—fairly routine," she says. "We don't want to make it harder for folks to do their job and their mission by saying they can't use these medications." Ritchie, who communicates "six times a day" with her colleagues in the war zones, says she is unaware of "any bad outcomes" resulting from soldiers taking SSRIs.

William Winkenwerder Jr., who issued the 2006 policy as the Pentagon's top doctor before stepping down last year, says the new medicines are working well. "Combat presents some unique and important caveats—obviously, those who are being treated have access to firearms, and they may be under significant stress, so they need to be very carefully evaluated, and good clinical decisions need to be made," Winkenwerder tells TIME. "It's my belief that is happening."

"In a Total Daze"

AND YET THE BATTLEFIELD SEEMS AN imperfect environment for widespread prescription of these medicines. Lefeune, who spent 15 months in Iraq before re-



Soldiering on Lefeune began taking Army-prescribed drugs in Iraq. Though he rarely saw a doctor, he continued to receive pills

turning home in May 2004, says many more troops need help—pharmaceutical or otherwise—but don't get it because of fears that it will hurt their chance for promotion. "They don't want to destroy their career or make everybody go in a convoy to pick up your prescription," says Lefeune, now 34 and living in Utah. "In the civilian world, when you have a problem, you go to the doctor, and you have therapy followed up by some medication. In Iraq, you see the doctor only once or twice, but you continue to get drugs constantly." Lefeune says the medications—combined with the war's other stressors—created unfit soldiers. "There were more than a few convoys going out in a total daze."

About a third of soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq say they can't see a mental-health professional when they need to. When the number of troops in Iraq surged by 30,000 last year, the number of Army mental-health workers remained the same—about 200—making counseling and care even tougher to get.

"Burnout and compassion fatigue" are rising among such personnel, and there have been "recent psychiatric evacuations" of Army mental-health workers from Iraq, the 2007 survey says. Soldiers are often stationed at outposts so isolated that follow-up visits with counselors are difficult. "In a perfect world," admits Nash, who has just retired from the Navy, "you would not want to rely on medications as your first-line treatment, but in deployed settings, that is often all you have."

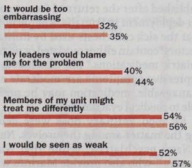
And just as more troops are taking these drugs, there are new doubts about the drugs' effectiveness. A pair of recent reports from Rand and the federal Institute of Medicine (IOM) raise doubts about just how much the new medicines can do to alleviate PTSD. The Rand study, released in April, says the "overall effects for SSRIs, even in the largest clinical trials, are modest." Last October the IOM concluded, "The evidence is inadequate to determine the efficacy of SSRIs in the treatment of PTSD."

Chris Lefeune could have told them that. When he returned home in May 2004, he remained on clonazepam and other drugs. He became one of 300,000 Americans who served in Iraq and Afghanistan and suffer from PTSD or depression. "But PTSD isn't fixed by taking pills—it's just numbed," he claims now. "And I felt like I was drugged all the time." So a year ago, he simply stopped taking them. "I just started trying to fight my demons myself," he says, with help from VA counseling. He laughs when asked how he's doing. "I'd like to think," he says, "that I'm really damn close back to normal."

"Soldiers may have PTSD, but they won't tell their commanders."

How afflicted soldiers view receiving mental-health services*

■ In Iraq ■ In Afghanistan



*Among males, ranks of private through corporal, specialist, who have been in Iraq or Afghanistan for nine months or more and have screened positive for a mental-health problem. Source: Mental Health Advisory Team V report, March 2008



Barack, Don't Go

John McCain wants Barack Obama to join him on a visit to Baghdad. But the trip's a trap

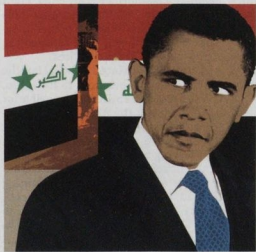
IN 1978, WITH AMERICA'S ALLY THE SHAH of Iran under siege, President Jimmy Carter asked a former diplomat named George Ball to study the situation and recommend a course of action. Ball's chief qualification was that he, more than any other high-level U.S. official, had been right about Vietnam—from early on, he had warned it would be a quagmire. Ball accepted Carter's offer but refused to visit Iran. In the 1960s he had watched one colleague after another set off on fact-finding missions to Vietnam, and each returned convinced that America could win the war. "I had learned from our Vietnam experience," he explained, "how dangerous it can be when travel is substituted for thought."

Barack Obama should keep Ball in mind as he mulls John McCain's suggestion of a joint visit to Iraq. Ball understood something important: that when you take a guided tour, your tour guide decides what you see. In Iraq today, as in Vietnam back then, the tour guides are America's officers and diplomats on the ground. And in Iraq, as in Vietnam, they have an incentive to show good news—which isn't always the same as the truth.

To begin with, there's security. Since the first priority of McCain and Obama's hosts would be to ensure that the candidates leave Iraq alive, they would by necessity take them to places the U.S. and Iraq have made safe and avoid places they have not. General David Petraeus and Ambassador Ryan Crocker are unlikely to introduce Obama and McCain to Iraqis who want to kill them, and thus their meetings would tilt heavily toward those Iraqis who want

the U.S. to stay and away from those who are trying to force America to leave. As the *New York Times* has noted, congressional visitors to Iraq almost never have unscripted meetings with average Iraqis whose political views aren't already known.

Also, Petraeus and Crocker report to the President, a guy with strong feelings about Iraq. They and their staffs don't want to sound like partisan flacks, but it's far easier for them to reinforce the Administration's view than to contradict it, especially when the cameras roll. By making them the spokesmen for its Iraq policy,



the Bush Administration has encouraged Americans to believe Petraeus and Crocker are independent analysts who just happen to agree with their Commander in Chief. But Petraeus and Crocker would never purposely craft an itinerary that might cast doubt on the Administration's policies and embarrass their boss—or the man who shares his views, McCain.

It's for exactly these reasons that some of the members of Congress who know the military best have been most wary of visiting Iraq. When Patrick Murphy, who served with the 82nd Airborne in Baghdad, returned to the country as a Congressman in 2007, he said he found the trip "somewhat scripted" and insisted on breaking off and seeing his former

comrades so they "would give the straight story." Senator Jim Webb, a former Marine and Secretary of the Navy, called congressional Iraq visits a "dog and pony" show.

This is not to say the security improvements in Iraq are illusory. It's just that the war's realities are too elusive to grasp on a brief trip led by people with a vested interest in what you see. In Vietnam, the wisest U.S. officials sought out journalists like David Halberstam and Bernard Fall who had spent years traveling the country, and former diplomats and military

officers who had the freedom to say what they really believed. And even that kind of granular, uninhibited knowledge isn't much help without a larger view of the world. McCain thinks winning in Iraq is the single most important foreign policy challenge facing the next President. As a result, he's willing to spend billions more dollars, impose a far greater strain on the military and divert U.S. attention from other problems to incrementally improve our chances of success. Obama thinks Afghanistan and Pakistan are more central to the war on terrorism and that our resources in those countries would bring a higher rate of return. Given that

fundamental difference, a joint trip to Iraq—and only Iraq—concedes McCain's key assumption. Perhaps Obama should counter by proposing that they visit southern Afghanistan, where America's war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda has been crippled for years by the diversion of troops and attention to Iraq.

If anyone knows that clarity often comes with distance, it's Obama, who spent 2002 and 2003 in Chicago, far from the secret briefings that persuaded many Democrats to back the war. Today he should kindly decline McCain's offer and keep his distance once again. ■

Beinart is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations

In Iraq, as in Vietnam, the tour guides are America's officers and diplomats on the ground. And in Iraq, as in Vietnam, they have a strong incentive to show good news

Mrs. Clean

A once reluctant politician, former Mossad agent Tzipi Livni is the favorite to succeed the scandal-tainted Ehud Olmert as Israel's leader

BY TIM MCGIRK/JERUSALEM

WHO CAN BLAME ISRAELIS FOR BEING disgusted with their politicians? A sex scandal brought down the last President; a former Finance Minister faces indictment over alleged fraud, theft and money-laundering; and Prime Minister Ehud Olmert may be indicted for taking more than \$150,000, mostly in cash, from a New York businessman. A popular bumper-sticker says, OLmert, YOU DISGUST ME. The deepening sense of odium is reflected in Olmert's single-digit popularity ratings. He may be forced to resign within weeks, and already politicians have begun to handicap the succession.

It's probably no coincidence that the odds-on favorite to replace Olmert is a politician with an ironclad reputation for honesty and integrity—she famously

Livni is the most prominent member of Olmert's Kadima party to have urged that he step down. He has said he will stay on and fight to prove his innocence. (He admits taking money but says he spent it legitimately on campaign expenses.) But if pressure grows, he could step aside, allowing the party to pick a new leader. In a poll of Kadima members, 35% said they wanted Livni as the next party leader, giving her a 10% lead over her closest rival, Transportation Minister Shaul Mofaz, a former army chief. Livni doesn't try to hide her hopes. Friends who've asked her why she wants to become Prime Minister have received the reply, "I know I can do this job."

Livni was born into a political family: both her parents belonged to the Irgun, the armed Zionist militia responsible for attacks against the Arabs and the British in Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s. But she chose to steer clear of politics, first serving in the army as a lieutenant in the Israel Defense Forces, then waiting on tables in the Sinai before joining Mossad, the Israeli foreign-intelligence agency, in which she served from 1980 to 1984. She learned elementary spy craft in Paris, including lessons on how to recruit agents. She also learned the importance of discretion, a valuable skill in her current role as chief Israeli negotiator with the Palestinians.

She left Mossad to become a lawyer and continued to avoid politics for 10 years, at a time when the country was being torn apart over the question of exchanging land for peace with the Palestinians. When she finally took the plunge, it was to help shape the terms of the exchange. "Tzipi said she'd prefer to be the negotiator than let someone else do it and give it all away," says Eran Cohen, her former political adviser.

Voted into the Knesset in 1999, she became a loyal supporter of Ariel Sharon, leader of the right-wing Likud Party; when he created the more centrist Kadima, she

followed. In six years, Sharon named her to seven different ministerial posts. Along the way, she broke with her parents' Zionist views; friends say she'd rather have a peaceful Israel to bequeath to her children. Livni also rejects the Likud Party's vision of an Israel encompassing both banks of the Jordan River. "In order for us to be a democratic and a Jewish state, in the long run, we'll have to give away some of the land," she says.

That doesn't make her a soft touch as a negotiator. Her Palestinian counterparts say she is fair but tough to the point of stubbornness, especially on Israel's refusal to accept Palestinian demands for the right of refugees to return to their old homes inside the Jewish state. Livni's reply: Let them return to a future Palestinian state. Livni has also earned the admiration of European colleagues, who cite her lawfully logic and pragmatism. And she has made a close friend of U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, whom she calls at least twice a week. "Tzipi's strength to endure, indeed to excel, in what were difficult, often heartbreaking, conditions was a testament to her character," Rice wrote in a tribute last year when Livni was named one of TIME's 100 Most Influential People.

Her parents would have been proud—even if she strayed from their vision for Israel. When Livni accepted a two-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians, she got a call from her ultra-Zionist mother Sarah: "This hurts me to say this, but we didn't fight for the state of Israel for our generation but for all generations to come. This is about your generation, and I trust your decision." After Sarah's death seven months ago, Livni found out that her mother's old comrades had turned against her because her daughter had betrayed the Zionist dream. A friend told Livni how Sarah had responded: "My daughter's always right." Israelis may soon have an opportunity to judge whether she's right for them.

'In order for us to be a democratic and a Jewish state, in the long run, we'll have to give away some of the land.'

—TZIPi LIVNI

insists on always picking up her own tab, even if it's just for a plate of hummus. Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni is in many ways Olmert's opposite. The Prime Minister is a jokey backslapper and charmer, a consummate pol with expensive tastes in cigars, flashy wristwatches and fountain pens; Livni, 49, is a no-nonsense former Mossad agent who eschews small talk, avoids the Bar Mitzvah circuit most Israeli politicians use to rack up favors and lives quietly in a modest Tel Aviv home with her husband and two sons. And she has strong views on probity in the public sphere. "I resent the idea that corruption comes with the political system," she tells TIME in her glass-and-wood-paneled Jerusalem office. "It doesn't."





Who Will Rule The New Internet?

Apple, Google and Facebook all want to build the next great platform. Inside the struggle for Web supremacy

BY JOSH QUITTNER/SAN FRANCISCO

*Take what man makes and use it,
But do not worship it,
For it shall pass.*

AN ANONYMOUS WIT SCRATCHED THOSE lines on the side of a junked car door and lugged it to a trail near my home in Northern California. The middle of a pristine, ancient redwood grove is the wrong place to find a rusted-out car door, but the words magically transformed the thing from an aggravating piece of junk into art. I Googled the quote as soon as I got home, of course, but found nothing. (Thanks to Google, we live in a world where "I don't know" has become an unacceptable response. So my inability to identify the author there is driving me crazy.)

My town is pretty close to Silicon Valley, and most of my neighbors make their living in technology, while I make mine writing about it. All of us, though, worship at the altar of bright and shiny things. These days, it's the impending launch of Apple's next-generation iPhone that has the faithful davening. If the whispers of pending miracles are to be believed, this new phone could end up becoming the next big "platform."

A platform, to computer people, is the software code on which third-party applications function. There are scores of big platforms out there—something like three dozen in the international mobile-phone business alone. But a truly successful one

can extend far beyond its immediate group of users and effectively create and control an enormous market. In the computer industry, IBM dominated the first commercial platform with its expensive mainframes and operating systems, aimed at corporate users. Seemingly overnight, IBM was supplanted by Microsoft and its Windows operating system as the PC revolution took hold. Windows, in turn, is now losing its power as the Web—owned by no one, accessible to all—becomes the dominant platform. (Yes, the Web is nothing more than a big layer of code; all those websites we visit are merely applications that sit atop it.)

Every major player in Techland wants to create the next great platform, of course. What's new here is that it's possible for any number of them to succeed. "Among the things that are different from the old status quo is the idea that one will win," says Marc Andreessen, who helped write the first widely adopted browser, Mosaic, which popularized the Web. The Internet is a much larger playing field than PC operating systems. "Trying to decide which will win," Andreessen adds, "is kind of like debating whether beef, chicken or lobster is going to win the market for food."

Still, for wonks like me, it's been riveting to watch three of the most innovative companies in Silicon Valley—each representing a fundamental phase of the information era—battle it out. Apple, Google and Facebook are, respectively, an



icon from the pioneering days of personal computers; the biggest, most profitable company yet born on the Web; and a feisty upstart whose name is synonymous with the current migration to social networks.

In many ways, these companies are technology's standard-bearers, though their guiding philosophies differ. Google, for instance, advocates an "open" Web and tends to push for open standards and alliances among developers. Facebook, with its gated community of 70 million active users, offers a more controlled experience and, so far at least, wants to keep its users safely within its walls. Apple comes from the old world. Its elegant products cocoon customers from the chaos of the information age, but the Apple experience tends to be highly controlled, with Apple hardware at the end points and Apple software and services, like the iTunes Music Store, in between.

The winners of the platform wars stand to make billions selling devices, selling eyeballs to advertisers, selling services such as music, movies, even computer power on demand. Yet the outcome here is far more important than who makes the most money. The future of the Internet—how we get information, how we communicate with one another and, most important, who controls it—is at stake.

Why Facebook Opened Up

THE WORD *PLATFORM* REACHED BUZZWORD status a year ago when Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg announced the start of a movement. "Social networks are closed platforms," Zuckerberg told a gathering of about 800 developers in San Francisco. "Today we're going to change all that."

You can watch the video of the speech, as I did, by Googling "F8"; the name refers to the version of the Facebook platform he was then unveiling. What made F8 significant, historic even, was that it was the first version of Facebook thrown open to developers. Anyone who knew how to write applications for Facebook was invited in. Andreessen says an open-coding environment is key to any successful platform because the easier it is to use, the more developers will be drawn to it, making the platform that much more powerful. Facebook also gave developers free distribution. Users who want to add a new app can do so with one-click simplicity. All this, says Andreessen, who is rumored to be considering a seat on Facebook's board, has helped make Facebook compelling: "The point of being a platform is you can enable creativity on the part of thousands or millions of other people who you don't have to pay and who have ideas that you wouldn't have thought of."



Apple CEO
Steve Jobs

Google CEO
Eric Schmidt



The Case for Apple

The new iPhone could be a breakout hit and be the device that most people use to access the mobile Internet

Control

Apple dictates what applications can run on the iPhone and provides the key services (music, movies, apps) that feed it

Buzz

Have you been to an Apple store lately? Last year 201 stores generated \$1.7 billion in revenue—17.7% of Apple's sales

Steve Jobs

No one knows more about making technology that delights consumers



Google Search

The Case for Google

No company has done a better job of aligning its business plan with the Web, earning Google its \$178 billion market cap

Openness

Its projects are built to be hacked, making it a favorite of third-party developers

Diversification

Aside from search, it has maps, documents, e-mail, social networking and an operating system for cell phones

Cash

A \$6 billion war chest gives the company plenty of room to experiment

Facebook CEO
Mark Zuckerberg

That's precisely what has happened at Facebook during the past year. A kind of gold rush took hold as developer after developer started writing simple applications. As of June 1, some 24,000 programs—ranging from simple social gestures, like the ability to virtually poke a friend, to fully formed games like Scrabulous—were available to Facebook's users. Expect loads more. Facebook has given out its API keys—the code that developers need to access Facebook's platform—an astounding 400,000 times, many more than even Zuckerberg expected.

Zuckerberg, 24, is a hot ticket on the conference circuit, and when I spoke to him, he had just returned to Palo Alto, Calif., from a major tech-industry event near San Diego. There he had been grilled yet again on whether he'd sell Facebook to Microsoft, whose minority investment gave Facebook a \$15 billion valuation. (Microsoft, which tried and failed to buy Yahoo!, could use a new platform itself.) Yet again Zuckerberg said no, he's not selling out—he's just trying to build a great and viable platform and that takes time. Zuckerberg speaks in a steady, mellifluous tenor; he has a long neck and tends to point his chin upward, as if aiming the bell of a saxophone. "A lot of the last year in developing the platform has just been keeping up with the runaway success there," he says.

That's what happens when you create a successful platform: a virtuous circle blooms, with a mass of users attracting a horde of developers who build fun or useful stuff, which in turn pulls in even more users. Needless to say, there are some pretty worthless and annoying applications too. At Facebook, app writers' income is derived from advertising based on the number of people who install their programs, and a bunch have adapted in intrusive ways. Facebook has taken flak for applications too accidentally spam their entire friend lists with e-mail invites to install FunWall. Zuckerberg says Facebook is tweaking its platform to help the most useful apps spread while squelching the junk.

I ask Zuckerberg about the theory that closed, proprietary networks like Facebook could stifle the Net's innovative spirit. That idea is the subject of *The Future of the Internet and How to Stop It*, a new book by Jonathan Zittrain, co-founder of Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet and Society. He argues that the rise of gated, closed communities like Facebook, the advent of the iPhone and even the seemingly innocuous standards-setting of Google could draw nerd talent away from the disruptive kind of innova-

tion that occurred on the wild and woolly Net. Zuckerberg pauses for a minute to think, then says, "I generally agree with those principles and think that type of openness and portability is extremely important." Great platforms are often closed when they start and open up only as they mature and can handle the load. He adds, "We're kind of leaving that initial phase now and moving to a more open phase."

In fact, last month Zuckerberg announced Facebook Connect, which would allow users to take their contact lists with them to websites that add a snippet of code. Over time, it will be possible for, say, a blog owner to embed a Facebook-style "wall" on his or her site, which would allow one to read only the comments scrawled there by friends. It's a very cool idea. Facebook everywhere! But there's only one problem. A few days after Facebook Connect was announced, Google launched a nearly identical plan called ... Friend Connect. And if there's anything that could slow Facebook's frantic pace, it's Google.

Google Tries to Connect

THE FIRST PHASE OF THE WEB'S GROWTH was all about putting information online and giving people a way to find and connect to it. The second and current phase is all about connecting people to one another.

"Social is the new black," says Joe Kraus, who oversees Google's efforts to build out a social layer that runs across the entire Web. In this, as in all things that Google does, Kraus' strategy has been to create an alliance of social networks that will use open standards rather than Facebook's proprietary network and coding language, so that developers can spread their applications.

"Google has relied on an open Internet to make its entire business," he tells me. "It has a genetic predisposition for openness." That's partly because Google's core business, search, depends on openness. Google can't find the things you want on the Web—documents, music, images and so on—unless they are open and accessible, Kraus says. The richest Internet company on the *Fortune* 500 (it's ranked 150, with \$16.5 billion in revenue), Google has a business plan that depends on the Web being used by as many people as possible. That's why the company spends so much time and energy building new applications that make the Web more useful or fun.

Social networks are a threat to that business; users tend to stay within their network and communicate among themselves or simply fool around with apps. When Facebook's users are playing Scrabulous or tagging photos, for example, they're not using Google. Indeed, they're

The Case for Facebook

Four-year-old Facebook is at the forefront of connecting people to one another, and it may be too late for social-networking competitors to catch up

Size

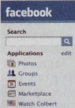
With 70 million active users, it is one of the most trafficked websites in the world

Talent

All the smart kids want to work here. Even top Google engineers are defecting

Youth

At 24, Harvard dropout Zuckerberg is just getting started and says he'll expand Facebook everywhere on the Web



more likely to discover new things via friends or in-network applications such as iLike, a service that matches your friends' musical tastes to your own.

So Google retaliated last November with OpenSocial, an alliance of Facebook's competitors—MySpace, his and Google's own social network, Orkut, among others—to try to create a write-once, run-anywhere application platform. That means a developer, with only modest tweaking, can build an application that runs across all the major social networks except, of course, Facebook. "When you talk to developers, most of them don't have 50 people; they can't write their applications 50 different ways," Kraus says. "They really want to write their application once and get as much distribution as possible."

He definitely has a point. But I wonder if Google is too late—and old—for the social-networking party. "Google recognizes it needs to become more people-oriented, but it needs to *add* that to its existing platform. It's not at all native," says my neighbor, Seth Goldstein, who runs SocialMedia, an advertising network for social networks. "Facebook was designed from the ground up to render these complex and nuanced social relationships."

Why the iPhone Matters

APPLE'S CALCULUS IS MUCH SIMPLER: IT doesn't matter who prevails online—Facebook, Google, both or someone else. Steve Jobs simply wants to ensure that you use his devices to get there.

To that end, the new iPhone, which is expected to be announced on June 9, is "hugely significant," says Andreessen, who now presides over a company, Ning, that allows anyone to build his or her own social network. "The iPhone, a lot of people around here believe—and I think this is true—is the first real, fully formed computer that you can put in your hand," he says. "It has all the requirements it needs to be a viable platform."

Matt Murphy—a venture capitalist at Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers who oversees the \$100 million iFund to seed start-ups that build great iPhone apps—goes even further. He claims that the iPhone will "absolutely be the driver of the post-PC world." Murphy points out that the kit needed by developers to build iPhone apps has been downloaded more than 200,000 times, and he estimates that about 1,000 applications will be available to consumers when the iPhone-apps store launches with the phone. "If you look at so many of the constraints that have held back the mobile ecosystem, Apple basically takes all of those away and provides an open platform, a great device and a user

base that's rife for these new kinds of applications," he says.

Jobs' great skill has always been integrating cutting-edge technology and making it accessible. Flat-panel monitors, movie-making software, wi-fi, digital-music players, touch-sensitive screens—these have all been out there over the past decade or so in ragged and unpolished ways. His genius was finding and repackaging them, making the technology work to delight the masses. Similarly, Apple's iPhone 2.0 will popularize "geo-location"—think of the satellite-based navigation systems in many cars—as a way for people to communicate wherever they are.

Yet again, Google, which is fighting the platform wars on multiple fronts, could be Apple's stiffest competition. It is leading another coalition to build an open-operating system called Android that will work in the next generation of cell phones as well as other consumer devices. The Open Handset Alliance has 34 members—mobile-phone carriers as well as handset makers, including Motorola, LG Electronics, Samsung, China Mobile, Sprint Nextel and T-Mobile. Though Google CEO Eric

Schmidt sits on Apple's board of directors and Jobs saluted Google as a partner whose apps were on the iPhone, Apple is notably not in the alliance.

This appears to be a case of—in Valley-speak—"frenemies," companies that work together in some businesses while competing in others.

The first Android-powered phones will arrive, Google says, in the second half of the year, possibly around the same time as the new iPhone. At a recent Google developers' conference, the company showed off, for the first time, a generic cell phone running the operating system. Touch sensitive, with an onboard, motion-sensing accelerometer that can also place a user precisely on a Google satellite map, the device resembles nothing so much as an iPhone. Android, explains Andy Rubin, Google's director of mobile platforms, is an open platform for developers à la Facebook; the code is theirs to modify. He says developers have so far written more than 1,800 applications, which could be distributed on a Google site arranged according to popularity, as YouTube is. "There's some pretty innovative stuff there," Rubin explains. "This is merging the handset and the Web and coming up with something completely new."

To spark development, Google held a competition that will ultimately seed 10 application developers with \$275,000 for the best apps. Robert Lam, whose Eco2go was named last month as one of the 50 finalists for the top prizes, says he decided to develop his application, which helps users compute and reduce their carbon footprints, for the Android platform rather than the iPhone because it's so much easier. Developing for the iPhone "would have cost us an annual fee to list our application, and we would have to share 30% of our revenue with Apple as well," Lam says. That said, Lam is already looking into porting the app over to the iPhone after Eco2go is established. The iPhone could end up being enormously popular, and at this stage of the game there's no sense in foreclosing options.

I agree. Like him, I'm rooting for everyone in this war because it sounds as if—the concerns of Harvard's Zittman notwithstanding—we all win here. Andreessen is right when he says the Web is so vast that it defies attempts to control it. With Google riding shotgun, it strikes me as unlikely that Facebook or anyone else can pull too far ahead. Also, I believe Zuckerberg when he says Facebook will continue to open over time. It's the smart move, and he's a smart cookie. Finally, I want to get my hands on the new iPhone. Its time will come and go. But for now? Great technology, today as always, renders us as gods. ■

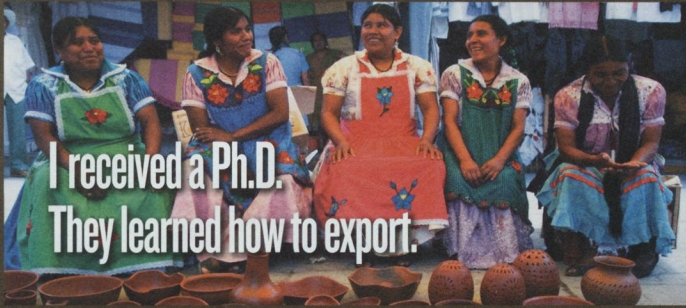


The World's Top Websites


Google has the widest reach on the Web, but Facebook's momentum and Apple's retail appeal make them strong challengers

Property	Total Unique Visitors (Feb. '08)
1. Google sites	605,576,000
2. Microsoft sites	542,751,000
3. Yahoo! sites	487,573,000
4. AOL	240,810,000
5. Wikipedia sites	240,754,000
6. eBay	239,900,000
7. Fox Interactive	158,216,000
8. Amazon sites	155,193,000
9. Apple sites	139,213,000
10. CNET Networks	124,750,000
11. Ask Network	116,420,000
12. Adobe sites	107,954,000
13. Facebook	100,319,000

Source: comScore



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Will the Oil Bubble Burst?

After making billions on rising energy prices, a big investor cashes in. Why that signals cheaper times

More Money?

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist

ELEVEN YEARS AGO, AFTER DOING A LOT of studying and a lot of thinking, Richard Rainwater convinced himself that the long decline in oil prices that had begun in the early 1980s was about to end. As a billionaire who had made his name and fortune steering the Texas oil riches of Fort Worth's Bass family into lucrative nonenergy investments like Disney stock, Rainwater had the wherewithal to act on his conviction. So he plunked down about \$300 million of his own money on energy-company stocks and oil and gas futures.

For a while it looked like a boneheaded move. At the end of 1998, the price of oil fell below \$10 per bbl. Regular gas sold for 90¢ a gal. While Internet billionaires were being minted to the right and left of him, Rainwater was getting poorer by the day.

You can guess the rest of the story. The dotcoms imploded; the price of oil climbed, climbed and climbed some more—and Rainwater's energy bet came to look like one of the better investment calls of our time. It has netted him about \$2 billion, vaulting him from the mid-2000s on *Forbes* magazine's 1999 list of the 400 richest Americans to No. 91 last summer (with \$3.5 billion overall).

So guess what Rainwater did a few weeks ago, right after oil prices topped \$129 per bbl. for the first time? "I sold my Chevron," he says. "I sold my Conoco-Phillips. I sold my Statoil. I sold my ENSCO. I sold my Pioneer Natural Resources. I sold everything."

This news, disclosed here for the first time, is a big deal. Lots of Wall Streeters—loudest among them the hedge-fund legend George Soros—have

been warning lately that speculation has inflated oil prices into a soon-to-pop bubble. But talk is cheap—this is something more. One of the biggest oil winners of the past decade has decided to get out.

As the nation struggles to cope with \$4-a-gal. gas, what are we to make of Rainwater's decision? Is it a sign that the near doubling of oil prices over the past eight months is about to reverse itself? Does it mean we can all breathe big sighs of relief

began formulating his big oil bet after reading the 1992 book *Beyond the Limits*, a wonky, statistics-driven—and extremely frightening—follow-up to the famed and controversial 1972 Club of Rome report on resource depletion, *The Limits to Growth*. Since then he's remained an avid consumer of the more apocalyptic visions (war, global economic collapse) of what could happen as oil production peaks. "This is the first scenario I've seen

where I question the survivability of mankind," he told *FORTUNE* in 2005. He doesn't sound quite that gloomy now, but he has seen nothing to make him think oil supplies will become abundant again or that an adequate replacement for oil will be found anytime soon.

All Rainwater expects is a "little lull" in energy prices; after that, "I will reload, and then I'll go off again." He is vague about what exactly would prompt this reload. "I'd like to re-enter at a good price, and I'd like to re-enter at a good time, and I'd like to make another couple billion dollars," he says. Who wouldn't?

One of the things that prompted Rainwater's sell decision was a

reader poll on the investing website Motley Fool—yes, even billionaires get ideas from Motley Fool. "What are you doing to deal with high gas prices?" the poll asked. Seventy-seven percent of the respondents said they were cutting back on consumption (by driving less, buying a hybrid, buying a Vespa, etc.). Rainwater, who was one of the 23% who clicked on "Absolutely nothing. I'm rolling in profits from my oil stocks," took it as a sign.

"I just felt that America was not ready for \$4 gas and we would see a pause here," he says. "And we are seeing a pause." But even a sustained turn toward conservation in the U.S. wouldn't affect the main long-term drivers of higher oil prices—stagnant production worldwide and burgeoning demand from China, India and other emerging markets. So pay heed to Rainwater's choice of that word *pause*. ■



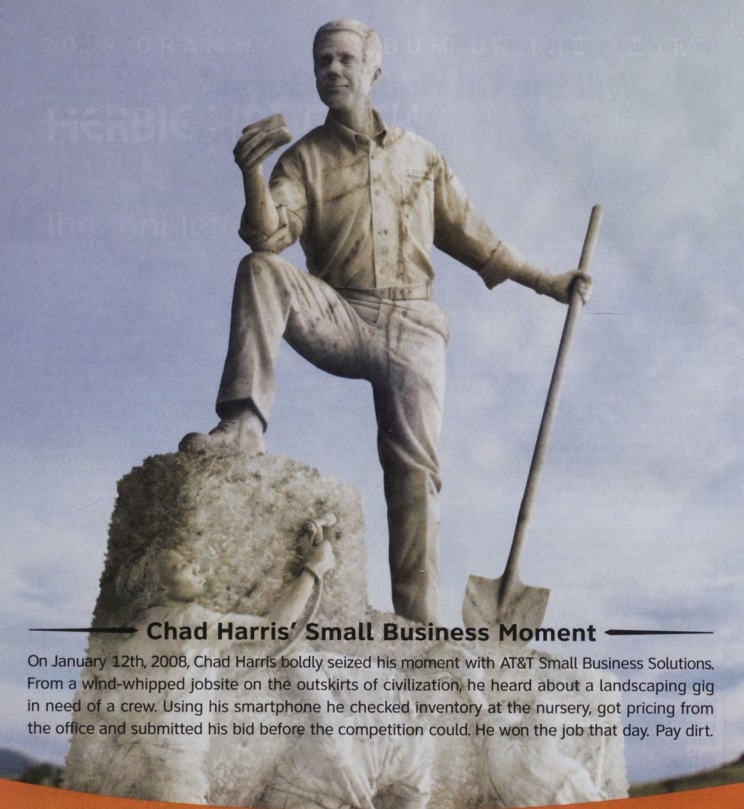
and go back to gassing up our Hummers with abandon?

This is the future we're talking about, so there are no certain answers. But when you've got Rainwater on the phone, it is at times possible to believe you're getting a sneak preview.

He definitely thinks oil prices are due for a fall. That's why he sold. But he makes no claim to having gotten the timing perfect. After he sold out in May and oil kept rising, past \$135 per bbl., Rainwater briefly thought he'd made a terrible mistake. The price has since subsided a little, and he has calmed down a little. Still, he says, "It's a call that I've made, but who knows? Who knows if I'm early?"

The bigger question is whether the now nine-year-long rise in energy prices is at a definitive end, and to that, Rainwater offers a clearer answer: No way. He

Lots of Wall Streeters have been warning lately that speculation has inflated oil prices into a soon-to-pop bubble. But talk is cheap—this is something more



Chad Harris' Small Business Moment

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We're huddled masses no longer
yearning to breathe free but to
free up space on a countertop

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Life

■ LIVING ■ HOME PAGE ■ NERD WORLD



LIVING

Daddy Boot Camp.

The playbook
for modern
fatherhood now
includes a prebaby
crash course

BY JENINNE LEE-ST. JOHN/WEYMOUTH

"THE SOCIETAL VIEW OF DADS IS THAT we're bumbling fools," Steve Dubin tells his all-male audience. It's Saturday morning in Weymouth, Mass., and 14 soon-to-be fathers are paying him to help keep them from fulfilling that stereotype. Dubin, a p.r. executive and Little League coach, pairs three rookies with three dads willing to hand over their babies for training purposes. Support the head, the in-

struction begins. Act naturally because babies can smell fear. Roll them over and rub their backs if they start to cry. "You'll probably hold the baby differently from your wife. That's O. K.," Dubin says. "But this will be the beginning of, 'Why are you doing it that way?'" he warns. "Tell your wife, 'We're going to do things differently, and you have to allow me to.'"

The marital advice comes as a bonus in the class Dubin and former Air Force special-ops commando Darryl Wooten

teach each month called Boot Camp for New Dads. The training program, which is offered in 43 states as well as in Britain and Australia, combines the basics of parenting preparation—what to expect during labor, how to change a diaper—with male-bonding to help ease the often overlooked stresses of fathers-to-be. At a time when enrollment in childbirth classes has fallen from 70% of first timers in 2002 to 56% in 2006—with the drop-off due in part to expectant couples' assuming they can learn



just as much from books or online—Boot Camp has continued to expand and this year graduated its 200,000th enlistee.

It's no coincidence that more men are volunteering for three-hour pre-papa classes as marketers ply them with more masculine baby gear. Diaper Dude bags and DadGear diaper vests, which come with pockets for a changing pad and other essentials, are becoming modern-dad must-haves. On June 8, every Babies "R" Us in the U.S. is scheduled to host a Boot Camp session as part of a free event for fathers. And Johnson & Johnson recently signed a partnership with Boot Camp to help get men more involved in child care (and presumably buying more J&J products).

Boot Camp was founded in Irvine, Calif., in 1990 by Greg Bishop after friends kept asking the now 57-year-old father of four, and sibling of 12, for child-rearing advice. His nonprofit program, which can cost nothing or as much as \$35 depending on the location, has since been named a best

Men who have taken the class come back with their babies so rookies can learn to hold, diaper and "burrito wrap"—er, swaddle—them

practice by the Department of Health and Human Services and the U.S. Army, which supports classes on its bases. Bishop's latest book, *A Crash Course for New Dads*, has a built-in audience. According to a 2007 Spike TV survey of more than 1,000 fathers, 71% of respondents felt they had to figure out on their own how to be a good dad. Tim Frye agrees. A political-science professor and Boot Camp veteran, he brought his 11-week-old son to the Weymouth class to help other men learn how to be a more hands-on parent. "If you come from an Ozzie and Harriet-type family where Dad was working and Mom was home," says

Frye, 44, "if that's your model, then you're just making it up as you go along."

Boot Camp is working against the old notion that real men, manly men, skip the dirty work when it comes to child-rearing. "There was a time when men would brag that they never had to change a diaper," Dubin tells the class, "but that's not something to brag about now." Instructors reach their audience using guy talk: first-time expectant dads are "rookies"; "veterans" who have taken the class come back with their "stunt babies" so that students can learn to hold, diaper and "burrito wrap"—er, swaddle—them.

The curriculum, which covers serious subjects like shaken-baby syndrome and postpartum depression, for the most part steers clear of touchy-feely emoting. But to kick off the class, Dubin asks the men to describe the father figure they grew up with and the kind of dad they'd like to be. Some responses are blunt: "My dad was an a__hole, and I'd rather not be one." But nearly all include a desire to attain the virtues of a decidedly modern man: patience, emotional availability, anger-management and communication skills, and open-mindedness.

That may sound like a list of what women want from their mates, but Boot Camp addresses what men want too. Bishop says a major concern for expectant fathers is how their relationship with their wives or girlfriends will change. "New mothers are very focused on that baby," he says, "and dads can get left in the dust." That's not only because of the maternal instinct but also because there are some things men simply can't do. A veteran at the Weymouth class told the rookies that his wife originally had trouble breast-feeding. "The milk wasn't coming in," he said. "The baby's weight was dropping. You feel totally helpless." The coaches stress communicating, but they also get to the more pressing questions about sex: when it's O.K. to do it after childbirth ("Officially, six weeks, but not until she's ready") and why engorged breasts aren't meant to be played with ("They feel like someone kicked you in the nuts 10 times").

Despite the popularity of Boot Camp and other father-oriented programs, there are still some bumps on the path to daddy enlightenment. Although many men sign up for Boot Camp after seeing an ad or getting a recommendation from friends or doctors, about half the participants go because their baby's mama makes them. "On my way here, I talked to three friends. They were all like, 'Why are you going to that?'" says Alex Brookfield, 27, a general contractor in the Weymouth class. "But I figured if I learned just a little bit of anything, it would be better than nothing." ■



Training day At a Boot Camp class in Weymouth, Mass., John Melody, left, a graduate of the daddy-prep program, gives a rookie instructions on how to change his daughter Zoe's diaper

Daddy's Mini Manual. Three important Boot Camp tips:

1. Diaper Changing
Using too big a diaper runs the risk of "breaches of containment," says Boot Camp veteran Tim Frye, who adds that before closing a boy's diaper, "make sure he's pointing down." Another changeable revelation: girls can pee on you.

2. Stopping the Crying
Driving works, but bawling babies and sleep deprivation make for a dangerous combo. Instead, try bouncing, walking around, playing music, swaddling or, as some creative dads recommend, putting the baby in a car seat on top of a running washing machine.

3. Helping Mommy
Take care of the little things and work as a team. "When the baby cries in the middle of the night," says Boot Camp coach Darryl Wooten, "get up and hand him to your wife [to breast-feed]. You can go right back to sleep. But that small act would help her so much."



HOME PAGE

The 100 Thing Challenge. For Americans tired of being weighed down by clutter, a purging revolution begins

BY LISA MCLAUGHLIN

EXCESS CONSUMPTION IS PRACTICALLY AN American religion. But as anyone with a filled-to-the-gills closet knows, the things we accumulate can become oppressive. With all this stuff piling up and never quite getting put away, we're no longer huddled masses yearning to breathe free; we're huddled masses yearning to free up space on a countertop. Which is why people are so intrigued by the 100 Thing Challenge, a grass-roots movement in which otherwise seemingly normal folks

are pledging to whittle down their possessions to a mere 100 items.

"Stuff starts to overwhelm you," says Dave Bruno, 37, an online entrepreneur who looked around his San Diego

MORE AT TIME.COM
For advice from organizational experts on how to go about shedding your stuff, go to time.com/declutter

home one day last summer and realized how much his family's belongings were weighing him down. Thus began what he calls the 100 Thing Challenge. (Apparently, Bruno is so averse to excess he can't refer to 100 things in the plural.) In a country where clutter has given rise not only to professional organizers but also to professional organizers with their own reality series (TLC's *Clean Sweep*), Bruno's online musings about his slow and steady purge have developed something of a cult following online, inspiring others to

launch their own countdown to clutter-free living.

Bruno keeps a running tally on his blog, guynamedave.com, of what he has decided to hold on to and what he is preparing to sell or donate. For instance, as of early June, he was down to five dress shirts and one necktie but uncertain about parting with one of his three pairs of jeans. "Are two pairs of jeans enough?," he asked in a recent posting.

That's not the only dilemma faced by this new wave of goal-oriented minimalists. One of the trickier questions is what counts as an item. Bruno considers a pair of shoes to be a single entity, which seems sensible but still pretty hard-core when you're trying to jettison all but 100 personal possessions. Cait Simmons, 27, a waitress in Chicago, takes a different approach. Although she has pared down her footwear collection from 35 to 20 pairs, she says, "All my shoes count as one item."

Daniel Perkins, 34, a graphic designer in New York City, isn't working toward a quantitative goal but says he and his wife have instead pledged "within a year to have

Bruno isn't sure he can let go of all but 100 of his possessions. Right now he's down to one pen, one pencil and one spork

only things that we use daily in our apartment." Ten years ago, "I wore hats, and we made crepes every Sunday," he says. "But that's not who we are anymore." So he sold the fedoras and crepe pans on eBay.

But what about Christmas ornaments? Family heirlooms? Those skinny jeans you hope to—but will probably never—wear again? "It's a very emotional process," says professional organizer Julie Morgenstern. Her new book, *When Organizing Isn't Enough: SHED Your Stuff, Change Your Life*, lays out a plan for clearing out both physical and sentimental clutter. "Often these are things that represent who you once were," she says. "But once their purpose is over, they just keep you stagnant." SHED, by the way, is an acronym for "separate the treasures, heave the trash, embrace your identity from within and drive yourself forward." Which is a handy little guide to Dumpstering your way into a state of Zen.

"It comes down to the products vs. the promise," says organizational consultant Peter Walsh, who characterizes himself as part contractor, part therapist. "It's not necessarily about the new pots and pans but the idea of the cozy family meals that they will provide. People are finding that their homes are full of stuff, but their lives are littered with unfulfilled promises."

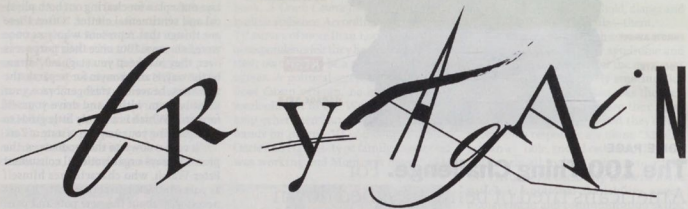
Walsh isn't surprised that decluttering is so popular these days. Between worrying about gas prices and the faltering economy, people's first reaction, he says, "is often, 'I need to get some control over my life, even if it is just a tidy kitchen counter.'"

When Walsh helped homeowners purge their belongings on *Clean Sweep*, the weekend-long project would end with huge garage sale. Off camera, good riddance is usually a good bit slower. Simmons has given herself a six-month deadline to winnow her stuff to 100 things—or at least 100 categories of things. (Hey, I'm not knocking her. I've got more than 100 things in my purse.)

Bruno hasn't set an end date for his purging project, which so far has claimed, among other items, his guitar, an iPod and a baseball jersey signed by Pete Rose. He's ignoring all the stuff he shares with his family, things like the house and the car and the pantry. Yet he's still not sure he can let go of all but 100 of his own possessions. Right now he's down to one nice pen, one mechanical pencil and one spork, although he counts that last utensil as part of a camping cooking set that includes two pots. And his current tally of 97 items doesn't include his toy trains, woodworking tools and a few other things he says he still needs to think through. But his daughters' doll collection remains off limits. Turns out that clearing the clutter makes you focus on what really counts. ■

Computer Literacy Tests

Websites often ask you to decipher a few wiggly letters. They're trying to find out if you're human or spamware



EVERY WEB SURFER, IN THE COURSE OF his or her browsing, has been forced to stop and perform this weird little task: look at a picture of some wavy, ghostly, distorted letters and type them into a box. Sometimes you flub it and have to retype the letters, but otherwise you don't think about it much. That string of letters has a name; it's called a CAPTCHA. And it's a test. By correctly transcribing it, you have proved to the computer that you are a human being.

This electronic hoop you have to jump through was invented in 2000 by a team of programmers at Carnegie Mellon University. Somebody at Yahoo! had gone to them, complaining that criminals were taking advantage of Yahoo! Mail—they were using software to automatically create thousands of e-mail accounts very quickly, then using those accounts to send out spam. The Carnegie Mellon team came back with the CAPTCHA. (It stands for “completely automated public Turing test to tell computers and humans apart”; no, the acronym doesn't really fit.) The point of the CAPTCHA is that reading those swirly letters is something that computers aren't very good at. If you can read them, you're probably not a piece of software run by a spammer. Congratulations—you can have an e-mail account.

The CAPTCHA caught on, and now it's all over the Web. Luis von Ahn, an assistant professor at Carnegie Mellon who was part of the original CAPTCHA team, estimates that people fill out close to 200 mil-

lion CAPTCHAs a day. But you should pause when you see one—it's one of the rare moments when the invisible war being waged between spammers and programmers becomes visible to you, the prey. “Of course,” says Von Ahn, “this has been a little bit of an arms race with spammers, because now there's a huge incentive for spammers to try to get around CAPTCHAs.” You can bypass them, using brute force, for example, though it'll cost you. Go to a website like GetAFreelancer.com, and you'll see dozens of ads placed by spammers and other bad actors, who hire whole teams of people to read and type out CAPTCHAs, all day, by hand, by the thousands. (“How the hell can they still maintain a profit margin?” Von Ahn wonders. “This is amazing to me!”)

You can also get around CAPTCHAs by being clever. They work only because there are things computers can't do, and there are fewer and fewer of those things all the time. Headlines on tech blogs regularly announce the cracking of CAPTCHAs—Gmail's, Hotmail's, Yahoo!'s. Von Ahn doubts the headlines are true—

Pause when you see a CAPTCHA: it's one of the rare moments when the invisible war between spammers and programmers becomes visible to you, the prey

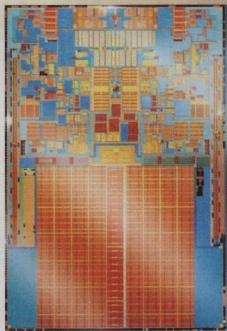
and companies aren't eager to confirm this kind of rumor—but it's possible for an amateur, poorly conceived CAPTCHA to be hacked. (He gives an example: a CAPTCHA in which each letter was always formed out of the same number of pixels. All the malware had to do was count the pixels in a letter to figure out which letter it was looking at.)

The faster that software evolves, and the harder it gets to distinguish between people and computers, the faster CAPTCHAs have to change. They might soon involve identifying animals or listening to a sound file—anything computers aren't good at. (What's next? Tasting wine? Composing a sonnet?) Von Ahn is confident that the good guys are still ahead for now, but the point at which software can reliably read CAPTCHAs is probably as few as three to five years away.

In the meantime, Von Ahn has figured out a way to take advantage of all the spare brainpower hundreds of millions of people expend deciphering wiggly letters. He has teamed up with the Internet Archive, a San Francisco nonprofit that uses computers to digitally scan books and put the text online, where it can be accessed for free. When its scanners find a word they can't read, they automatically turn it into a CAPTCHA that gets exported to a website in need of one. A human reads it and transcribes it, and the results get sent back to the scanner and added to the archive. It's nice to know we humans are still good for something. ■

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But it is, in fact, a revolution

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Sowing profit SKS head Vikram Akula, in a rice field his firm helped to fund

BANKING

The Big Trouble In Small Loans.

As large banks pile into microfinance, will profits get ahead of people?

BY BARBARA KIVIAI

RAFAEL LLOSA'S COMPANY HAS BEEN LENDING money to some of the poorest people in Peru for 30 years. It used to be a fairly lonely endeavor. Giving tiny loans to impoverished women to make ceramics or to farmers to buy milk cows was hardly seen as a great business.

Except that it was.



In 1998 the organization Llosa runs, now called Mibanco, converted from a nonprofit into a bank, demonstrating what other microfinance institutions around the world knew too: that the poor are good risks who repay loans on time; get enough of them together, you can not only chip away at poverty but also turn a profit.

Today Llosa has a very different marketplace to contend with. Success at Mibanco has piqued the interest of the commercial banks, which historically have shunned the 45% of Peruvians below the poverty line. Now big banks are going after Mibanco's clients with low-rate loans and—realizing it takes special know-how to work with the unbanked—hiring away Mibanco's employees as well. "They are very good competitors," says Llosa.

And he's getting more of them, from directions he never could have anticipated. Last year the Spanish multinational BBVA raised some \$300 million to invest in microfinance, then reached across the Atlantic to snap up two Peruvian firms. "Everyone wants to do this now," says Llosa. "And it's not only Peru. This change is everywhere. Everywhere microfinance is working, it's happening."

What's happening? To be blunt about it: the pinstripes are chasing the poor. Microfinance, once a relative cottage industry championed by antipoverty activists and development wonks, is on the verge of a

Lima, Peru

Rafael Llosa, general manager, Mibanco
The San Pedro market is full of entrepreneurs who have borrowed from Mibanco, including shopkeeper Julia Lucas

Number of microfinance borrowers in

Peru: 1.7 million

Increase from 2004: 50%

Value of loans: \$1.8 billion

Percentage of loan value from

commercial funding: 82%

Percentage from commercial funding
in 2004: 76%

Source: MIX Market. Most recent data as of 2006

revolution, with billions of dollars from big banks, private-equity shops and pension funds pouring in, driving growth of 30% to 40% a year. Financiers are convinced that there's huge money to be made in microfinance.

That would seem to be a fantastic turn of events, transforming microfinance institutions into more sophisticated operations that can reach millions more people. In the dusty Indian village of Veeravelly, in the state of Andhra Pradesh, for example, loans from SKS Microfinance have led to a spate of small businesses and, in turn, money for onetime luxuries like refrigerators and solid roofs. A more competitive, more devel-

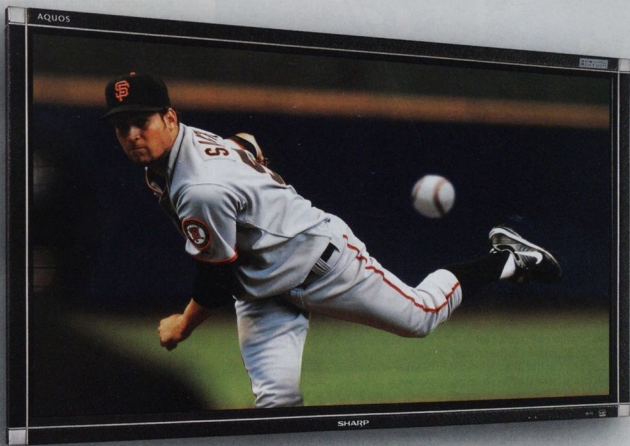
oped industry means lower loan rates and new services like savings accounts, mortgages and insurance. "Clients are coming into our offices and saying, 'O.K., if I go to another microfinance institution, I can get a longer term or a lower interest rate,'" says Braco Erceg, assistant director of Mikrofin in Bosnia, one of the world's most competitive microlending markets.

But alarm bells are going off too. The emergence of players who are out purely for profit has raised the possibility that, far from nurturing the poor, microfinance schemes could end up milking them, especially in countries where lenders don't have to clearly disclose interest rates. When the Mexican microfinancier Banco Compartamos went public last year, revealing its loans carried rates of about 86% annually, the development consortium Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP) and others scorned it for having put shareholders ahead of clients. Says Elizabeth Littlefield, CEO of CGAP: "There is some risk that the mainstreaming of microfinance will threaten the very essence of microfinance's core mission: to help poor people lead better lives." At a time when governments, financial institutions and investors are paying more attention to the developing world, the microfinance revolution illustrates the benefits and costs of marrying profitmaking with poverty relief.

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The Case for Big Banks

VIKRAM AKULA, FOR ONE, THINKS MONEY-making and good works can be mutually beneficial. Akula runs SKS Microfinance, India's largest microfinancier, which is at the forefront of the new-money trend. Last year SKS sold an \$11.5 million stake to the private-equity shop Sequoia Capital in a first-of-its-kind deal. Talk of a projected 23% return on equity snapped many financiers to attention.

This year SKS plans to reach 4 million customers like those in the village of Veeravelly, who have been using loans for projects like buying buffalo and opening a welding shop. "Unless we have capital markets interested in microfinance, there's no way we could get to that many borrowers," says Akula. A deal in which Citigroup will buy \$44 million in loans off SKS's books, for instance, is expected to help SKS reach 200,000 people across 7,000 villages. Among the beneficiaries are women like Parajata, a widow in Veeravelly who was working as a day laborer and barely earning enough to feed her children before a 50,000-rupee (\$1,200) loan let her open a grocery shop and start earning enough to periodically buy her kids new clothes. "There has been a dramatic change in my life," she says.

Yet as money floods in, Akula has tales

Marrakech, Morocco

Gary Hattem, managing director, Deutsche Bank

A microfinance group in which Deutsche is an investor lent money to Serouali Mina so she could make and sell hats

Number of microfinance borrowers in

Morocco: 1 million

Increase from 2004: 118%

Value of loans: \$413 million

Percentage of loan value from

commercial funding: 59%

Percentage from commercial funding

In 2004: 31%

Source: MIX Market. Most recent data as of 2006

of brewing conflict. Consider the time a bank chairman asked if SKS could raise its interest rates. Akula said yes (in most markets it has a monopoly) but that SKS wouldn't do so because it would be exploitative. The banker scoffed that Akula didn't understand economics. Akula shot back that the banker didn't understand customers, who would turn on SKS if they felt abused. "We're maintaining a loyal customer base that will stay with

'There is some risk that the mainstreaming of microfinance will threaten its core mission: to help poor people.'

—ELIZABETH LITTLEFIELD, CGAP

us as they get out of poverty," says Akula.

As long as investors have a long-term view, Akula argues, the social and financial missions of microfinance intertwine. "We're not giving away money here; we expect a return," says Gary Hattem, a managing director of Deutsche Bank, which runs four microfinance funds. "But we do keep our eye on the social-impact side of this. It's very humbling when you go to places where the people coming in to borrow smell like the cows they're raising."

Yet the pressure to turn a profit often forces microfinanciers to change their business models in ways that depart from the industry's original purposes. As Al Amana, Morocco's largest outfit, has shifted from grants to commercial funding, its average loan size has roughly tripled; smaller loans to the most desperate borrowers are costlier to service. One consequence of commercialization is that a lower percentage of loans go to women because they tend to take out smaller sums, according to a recent study by Women's World Banking.

As a growing number of microfinance firms go public, qualms about putting the financial interests of shareholders above the needs of clients have mounted. Already the flood of new money has come under criticism from longtime microfinance advocates for focusing too much on the largest firms operating in the most profitable countries. According to CGAP, 75% of cross-border funds go to Latin America and Eastern Europe, the world's most developed microfinance markets—the low-hanging fruit. That could leave out the poorest of the world's poor, who are predominantly in Asia and Africa. Says Alex Counts, CEO of the nonprofit Grameen Foundation, which helps develop microfinance institutions: "You might need to invent the microfinance industry all over again."

Segmenting the industry, though, might not be so bad if it allows more of the poor to get access to credit. Let multinational corporations take the top microfinance institutions to the next level, and leave the bottom of the pyramid to development groups and regional banks. That's what Ecobank is doing in Africa. The Togobased company, with operations in 22 countries, has for years acted as a banker to microfinance groups, taking deposits and writing loans. Over that time, Ecobank has grown hip to the busi-



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ness model and last year launched a microfinance institution of its own, in Nigeria and then in Ghana. Senegal and Cameroon are next. "This empowers the bottom of the African market," says Ecobank microfinance head Rotimi Nihinlola, "and is a good opportunity to grow our business."

Entrepreneurs or Consumers?

YET MAKING LOANS TO POOR PEOPLE, while an important tool, is hardly a poverty cure-all. Property rights, the rule of law—these things matter too. "You cannot overidealize what microfinance alone can do," says Clara Akerman, president of the microfinance group WWB Colombia. Most outfits started with lending simply because local laws prohibited nonbanks from offering deposit accounts. When people do have the option to save instead of borrow, saving is often what they prefer.

With marketing savvy introduced into the equation, poverty-alleviation experts are concerned that people will be talked into loans they wouldn't otherwise want. "Most genuinely poor people are not happy with carrying debt," says international-development expert Thomas Dichter. "The danger of all this new money is that micro-credit institutions will feel compelled to go out and generate more borrowers."

But the new money is also expanding the scope of microfinance beyond small

Veeravelly, India

Vikram Akula, CEO, SKS Microfinance

This loom was bought with a loan from SKS Microfinance, India's largest microfinance outfit

Number of microfinance borrowers in

India: 6.8 million*

Increase from 2004: 230%

Value of loans: \$716 million

Percentage of loan value from

commercial funding: 88%

Percentage from commercial funding

in 2004: 77%

Source: MIX Market. Most recent data as of 2006.

*Does not include self-help groups

loanmaking. As institutions compete for customers, they are rolling out other services. In Mexico, Citigroup has written more than 1 million life-insurance policies in conjunction with Compartamos, and in India it offers customers savings accounts and ATM access in partnership with microfinancier BASIX. "Not everyone will be an entrepreneur, but most of us have to save for something," says Bob Annibale, head of Citigroup's microfinance unit. Microfinanciers around the world are racing to offer the first real micromortgages. "That we are now talking about creating financial systems that include the major-

ity of people in developing countries is a real departure from what has existed for centuries," says María Otero, CEO of micro-lender ACCION International.

Part of those financial systems, though, are consumer loans, and that is a sticking point for microfinance purists. There is nothing inherently wrong with buying TVs and microwaves on credit, but as lending to poor people has gone mainstream, certain markets, like Mexico, have been flooded with loans that have nothing to do with providing capital to aspiring entrepreneurs—just racking up household debt. That's especially worrisome, since most developing countries don't have strong consumer-protection laws. "Everyone has realized you can make money," says Damian von Stauffenberg, principal of MicroRate, which evaluates microfinance firms. "Before, no one who wanted to get rich quick was going into microfinance. Suddenly you have loan-sharking operations assuming the microfinance mantle."

Back in Peru, Mibanco now offers consumer loans. It pretty much has to. "Our main business is for microcompanies, but people also want to buy a TV or a refrigerator, and we need to have the capacity to give a loan," says Llosa. "If we don't, they will go to another institution."

That is just one small slice of how Mibanco is changing in the face of competition. In 2004 Mibanco had 30 branches; today it has 81, as the firm pushes into remote areas—the coasts, the mountains—trying to hold off commercial banks. Mibanco has started offering savings accounts and has gone to the likes of North Carolina-based Wachovia to finance growth, which helps Mibanco reach more than 5,000 new clients a month. All of that ostensibly benefits borrowers.

But there are other changes to Mibanco's operations that aren't quite so easy to categorize. To grow quickly and preserve market share, Mibanco is offering incentives to current customers to get friends to sign up. That's hardly insidious—as anyone with a gym membership can tell you—but it does flick at the concern that lenders might start driving demand. And now Mibanco is contemplating an IPO. "We have two objectives," says Llosa. "One of them is to have a social impact, but we also look to be profitable. If we decide to only have a social impact, we won't have resources to grow."

Recent history says that when a financial trend gets popular, it gets riskier too. Think subprime mortgages. That may or may not be the case with big banks and microfinance. What is clear is that this pair won't be parting ways anytime soon.

—WITH REPORTING BY OMER FAROOQ/VEERAVELLY ■



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MEGACITIES

Law and Disorder. After a decade of rampant crime, officials and citizens of Mexico City are trying to fight back

BY IOAN GRILLO/MEXICO CITY

IN MEXICO CITY'S BREATHTAKING COLONIAL cathedral, the faithful have icons of divine intervention for all occasions: a black Jesus Christ to heal the sick; a brown Virgin of Guadalupe to bring babies to newlyweds; a bearded St. Jude Thaddeus to find work. More recently, parishioners have sought a balm for another kind of suffering—kidnapping. Amid a wave of abductions, the Holy Captured Infant, a 3-ft.-high (1 m) statue of a child Jesus that was once snatched by pirates during its passage from Spain in the 17th century, has become the unofficial patron of kidnap victims. The statue receives regular visits from family members praying to free their loved ones, and it is sought out more than ever—the Mexican capital now has an estimated 500 abductions every year.

The surge in kidnapping is part of a wave of crime and lawlessness that has plagued the once safe and peaceful mountain city

since the 1990s. Just a few decades ago, Mexico City boasted some of the lowest crime rates on the continent. That changed when the Mexican economy crashed in 1995, throwing millions out of work. In the following years, Mexico usurped Colombia as the drug-trafficking center of the Americas, unleashing heaps of crack cocaine, guns and narco dollars onto the street. Kidnappings, carjackings, rape, auto theft, burglary and murder followed and have become a near daily menace, creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion in the streets. Despite a decade of periodic crackdowns, including a nationwide war against the drug trade launched by Mexican President Felipe Calderón in 2006 and mammoth anticrime marches, crime is still one of the key difficulties afflicting the 20 million people living in Mexico City's greater urban sprawl.

Similar stories can be heard from urban jungles the world over. In Moscow, Lagos and Johannesburg, violent crime is one of the top fears of residents and visiting businessmen. It raises the cost of commerce, scares off businesses and clients and causes immense suffering. In Mexico, the insecurity has continued into the 21st century even as the economy stabilized—violent crime is, in a sense, an industry—and police have appeared powerless to stop it, with 95% of crimes going unsolved. "The root of the problem is not poverty; it's impunity," says Jon French, a security consultant based in Mexico City. "If crime pays, then the bad guys keep committing it." And there appears to be no easy fix.

While Calderón has devoted more than 20,000 soldiers in a bloody war against the drug cartels, Mexico City has so far rejected calls to mobilize the army to keep the



Mean streets Violence has escalated, but so have efforts to curb it. Clockwise from top: a hit-and-run victim; federal agents prepare to raid a drug house; seizing cocaine; praying for protection from kidnappers



Guns for hire Guards outside a private security company. The wealthy pay for their own protection

capital's streets safe. Instead, Mexico City is trying to replicate the success of New York City in breaking the grip of drug-related crime. In 2003 a group of businessmen paid \$4 million to former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani and a team including his former police chief Bernard Kerik (who later ran afoul of the law) to advise Mexico City on crime-fighting. After eight months of study, including a flyby visit from Giuliani to the city's most hardened barrios (at dawn, when most crooks were sleeping), the group delivered a report that advised cracking down on smaller crimes, just as the police had done in New York City.

Whereas Giuliani went after the so-called squeegee men, Mexico City's police chief at the time, Marcelo Ebrard, hit unlicensed street vendors, sending armies of police to reclaim the sidewalks, and he has accelerated his campaign since becoming mayor in December 2006. Ebrard has also struck at traffic offenses, forcing Mexico City drivers to wear seat belts. To improve surveillance, he has promised to install 8,000 security cameras in the city by the end of his term in 2012.

The tactic has had little effect on reported crimes so far, with rates remaining fairly stable over the past five years. But Ebrard promises it will bear fruit eventually. "This is a long-term fight," Ebrard told reporters recently. "And we are going to keep working at it." As in New York, this zero-tolerance approach has sparked criticism, with local human-rights groups complaining that it punishes the poor while failing to net the major villains.

One of Mexico City's highest-profile anti-crime fighters is no tough-talking mayor but a middle-aged female dentist. Maria Elena



La Policia

For more photos of the federal police in Mexico City, go to time.com/mexico

Morera, president of the lobbying group Mexico United Against Crime, led 250,000 white-clad marchers in 2004 to protest insecurity in one of the biggest demonstrations in the nation's history. The chain-smoking workaholic says she is surprised to find herself in the political spotlight instead of pulling teeth, but she felt her own personal tragedy left her no alternative. Kidnappers abducted her businessman husband in 2001, cutting off one of his fingers each week and sending it to her house. Federal agents eventually freed him and nabbed his assailants, including the medical doctor who amputated four of his fingers.

"The pain when you suffer from this kind of crime is indescribable," Morera says as she finishes taking testimony from a rape victim. "The worst thing is the powerlessness you feel. What we are trying to do is empower citizens to fight this together." Morera encourages victims to report crimes to police, and she uses her regular meetings with the mayor, police chief and President to pressure them for

"The worst thing is the powerlessness you feel. What we are trying to do is empower citizens to fight this together."

—MARIA ELENA MORERA, PRESIDENT, MEXICO UNITED AGAINST CRIME

results. Her campaign appears to be having an effect, with 40% of citizens now reporting crimes, up from 20% 10 years ago, according to a recent survey in the Mexico City newspaper *El Universal*.

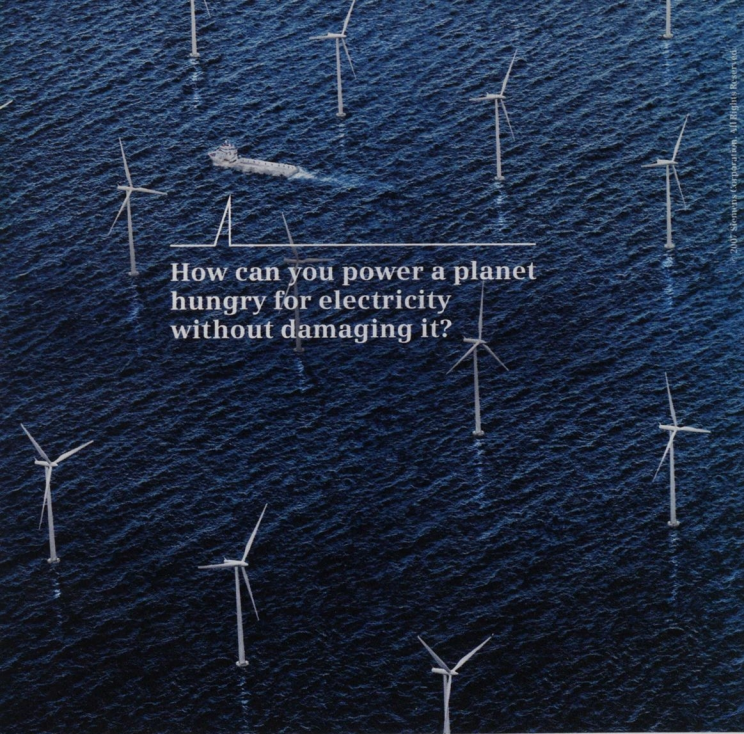
There is nonetheless a long way to go when the majority of offenses are still not registered, making it hard to gauge progress. A key obstacle is that many people simply don't trust the police. Officers have long been found taking bribes, and periodic cleansings of the force have not restored public confidence. Federal agents last year broke up an alleged kidnapping ring made up of Mexico City detectives from the anti-kidnapping unit. It also came as no surprise when a federal agent was arrested in connection with the killing of the nation's acting police chief, Edgar Millan, in his Mexico City home on May 8. Prosecutors allege that the offending officer, Jose Antonio Montes, was passing information about his superiors to a major drug cartel.

The shortcomings of the police have not been all bad news for business, though. Fear feeds a booming \$2 billion trade in bodyguards, alarm systems, bulletproof cars and countless other ways for the wealthy to safeguard themselves. Leading the business is Grupo Multisistemas de Seguridad Industrial, which began in 1983 with one security guard watching out for cake pilferers in a bakery. It now has 7,000 employees, including armed former soldiers, special forces trained in martial arts, fleets of armored Mercedes cars and a control room that can monitor conversations inside the company's vehicles anywhere in Mexico. "We take complete responsibility for our clients' security. And we never mess up," says vice president Rafael Giménez, boasting a client list that includes top foreign diplomats, Hollywood stars and presidential candidates.

That kind of security doesn't come cheap. A gun-toting bodyguard costs \$3,000 per month, while you will need \$30,000 to \$50,000 to make your car bulletproof—in a country where the minimum wage is \$5 a day.

Many in the middle class complain that they are the biggest victims, earning enough to be robbed but not enough to buy protection. Auto-repair-shop owner Pedro Mijares knows of a fellow mechanic who was recently kidnapped and killed over a ransom. Mijares said this insecurity is the main reason he plans to move his family to California later this year. "You work hard all your life. And then these rats come and take it away from you," Mijares says, waving his hand at his workshop full of cars. "I'm getting out of here while I'm ahead."

Too bad. He's the kind of entrepreneur that Mexico City can ill afford to lose. ■



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A la cart Rolling computer stations allow Dr. James Young to input patient data anywhere

TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

Medical Mouse Practice. Cleveland Clinic pairs medical and tech staff to create Internet tools that improve care and give patients access to their records

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY/CLEVELAND

HE'S NOT A DOCTOR, BUT BOB LEMON HAS been saving lives for nearly 30 years. As lead computer-systems analyst at Cleveland Clinic, Lemon has had a hand in every facet of the hospital's electronic infrastructure since 1980. He has digitized Cleveland Clinic's charts, given patients online access and found ways to allow doctors to perform exams over the Internet. What Lemon does every day on the job "ensures my heart patients receive the best care on the planet," says Dr. James Young, a cardiologist at Cleveland Clinic.

Lemon is part of a team of 700 technologists at Cleveland Clinic who are reinventing the hospital experience for health-care providers and patients alike. Renowned for its cardiovascular care, the medical center has also positioned itself as a leader in health-information technology at every level of patient care. The medical charts of nearly 5 million patients have been digitized, more than 3 million electronic prescriptions have been filled, and more than 120,000 patients regularly access their full

health records online. And along the way, the team of doctors, nurses, Web developers and software engineers has improved safety, cut costs and given patients more control over their care. The transition away from paper, says chief information officer Dr. C. Martin Harris, "has allowed us to use technology to transform the practice of medicine."

Walk into any exam room in the medical center's 140-acre (57 hectare) campus east of downtown Cleveland, and you'll find a computer terminal on a small rolling cart that physicians and nurses use to document every step of patient care in an electronic chart. Instead of scribbling notes

by hand on a metal-clad clipboard, doctors and nurses use the fill-in forms on the monitor to type in each patient's symptoms and vital signs, progress and prognosis, and medications prescribed and taken.

With the rest of the world living and working on e-mail and the Web, an electronic health record (EHR) might seem like an obvious step. But it is, in fact, a revolution. American physicians have been notoriously slow to adopt digital record-keeping—only 14% of U.S. medical practices keep electronic records, according to the Department of Health and Human Services. When Harris began Cleveland Clinic's technology push in 1999, the hospital's 1,800 M.D.s were equally resistant to change, he says. "We had to prove that this effort was going to make their job easier, not harder."

Luckily, Harris' IT team was able to solve one problem for doctors and nurses right away with the digital chart. Hospital policy mandates that every time a Cleveland Clinic patient sees a doctor in any of 37 buildings on the main campus or dozens of satellite locations in Florida, Abu Dhabi and southeastern Ohio, that doctor will be holding his or her medical chart. With paper records, physicians didn't have those records 20% of the time. As soon as charts were digitized, EHRs were at their fingertips. "No more repeat tests, no more taking extensive histories," says Gene Lazuta, marketing manager of e-Cleveland Clinic, the hospital's electronic initiative. "It instantly saved time, money and energy."

As doctors' resistance broke down, the technologists turned to patients, who also needed a little convincing. Placing exam-room computers on moving carts was an important early step, so that physicians didn't have to turn away from the patient to enter data into the terminal. This helped resolve a common patient complaint, that electronic records seem impersonal.

Harris, a practicing general internist and a Wharton M.B.A., has used his clinical experience to foster innovation that directly benefits patients. The hospital's 3 million-plus patients can schedule appointments online, for example, and fill out paperwork on the Web before they get to the waiting room. Cleveland Clinic's specialists supply second opinions to patients worldwide who enter symptoms into an Internet form and then send test results to doctors via FedEx. Cardiologists silently, invisibly monitor patients' pacemakers and other implanted devices remotely to make sure they're functioning correctly. Soon robotic carts will trans-

The transition away from paper 'has allowed us to use technology to transform the practice of medicine.'

—DR. C. MARTIN HARRIS, CLEVELAND CLINIC'S CHIEF INFORMATION OFFICER

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Harris put together a diverse collection of health-care providers and computer scientists to create Cleveland Clinic's flagship online product, MyChart. Launched in 2005 on the clinic's website, MyChart allows patients to access their EHRs and find up-to-date medical research on their ailments. Doctors must log all examinations, lab results, prescriptions and diagnoses for patients to review. Mary Adams, who lives in a western suburb of Cleveland, is one patient who has come to rely on MyChart. "I can log on, it reminds me I need a tetanus booster, and I schedule it," she says.

That kind of connection is a reflection of the intense collaboration that went into developing MyChart. Gisela Nehring, who heads the project, says her job as a respiratory therapist working in hospital intensive-care units means she can interact directly with hospital staff for input. "I can walk up and down the halls and hear from the nurses what's working and what's not," Nehring says. "I relate to what they're saying because I've been there myself." Web developers like Lemon show their medical colleagues what's possible. "We'll ask aloud if we can do this or that cool thing," Nehring says. "Bob figures out how to make it real in two minutes." The interaction works because the whole team has one thing in common, Lemon says: "We're all tech-geeky types."

The success of MyChart, which is used regularly by more than 120,000 Cleveland Clinic patients, inspired Dr. Toby Cosgrove, the hospital's CEO, to make an even bolder move. Doing away with decades of hospital tradition, Cosgrove declared last year that patients should have access to their EHRs at all times. Only a handful of hospitals worldwide have adopted this level of transparency. "The charts really aren't the hospital's—they belong to the patients," says Cosgrove, a heart surgeon. "We think it's their right to have that information."



Operating team Harris, center, leads a tech group that combines medical staff and Web architects

Cosgrove believes giving patients access to their EHRs will improve care. For one, errors are more easily avoided. The electronic chart automatically alerts doctors when the drugs they prescribe are inappropriate or could cause harmful interactions with medicine a patient is already taking. Young's patients even note typos in their charts, corrections that could avert disaster. "They'll point out things like, 'Hey, doc, I had my left coronary artery operated on, but you've got right written down here,'" Young says. "It's an important distinction."

The IT team has addressed the thorniest issues in EHRs—patient privacy—with an abundance of caution. In addition to standard confidentiality safeguards, the hospital opens an ongoing e-mail dialogue with patients to give them full disclosure about exactly who has accessed their data. "Some people complain we communicate too often," Lemon says.

Their work has won the Cleveland Clinic team a feather that any techie would covet in his cap—the attention of Internet giant Google. Cleveland Clinic was one of the search engine's early partners in Google Health, an online EHR service that

was launched on May 19. For the hospital, it's an opportunity to expand patients' access to records. "We could only get so big on our own," says Joe Turk, a Web developer and the director of new products on the Cleveland Clinic technology team. "Google Health lets us go national."

Google Health is a universal version of Cleveland Clinic's MyChart. Instead of collecting the information from just one hospital, Google Health serves as an online clearinghouse for patient information. Once you've signed up for an account, which closely resembles Google's Gmail, you can grant permission for doctors, pharmacies or insurers to upload any pertinent data, thus creating a single destination for your whole health history that you can access from anywhere in the world. "Because a lot of medical information is not digital, it's not being put to good use," says Marissa Mayer, Google's senior VP for search and user products. "We want to define a standard that makes it more portable and available to people."

In February, Cleveland Clinic and Google began a six-week pilot project of Google Health. Of the 15,000 Cleveland Clinic patients asked to participate, about 1,500 MyChart users signed up. Mayer described the test cases as "beautiful." They helped Google identify early adopters for Google Health—snowbird seniors who spend their time in different homes during the year, for instance.

But if the U.S. is serious about improving health care and reining in costs, the rest of the industry is going to have to get on board too. There are a number of Internet powers trying to stake out the EHR space, among them Microsoft and Revolution Health Group, led by AOL co-founder Steve Case. In Cleveland, Google has a partner that is already ahead of the curve.

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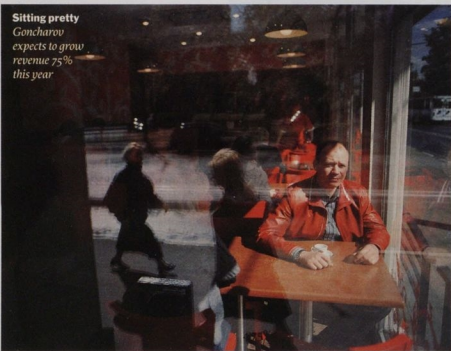
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Sitting pretty

Goncharov expects to grow revenue 75% this year

**FOOD**

The Czar of Crepes. A financial crisis helped create Russia's Teremok. It could become the McDonald's of blini

BY SALLY MCGRANE/MOSCOW

AT ANY OF THE 62 CHEERFUL, MODERN, orange and red Teremok restaurants or 70 Teremok kiosks in St. Petersburg and Moscow—which provide an equally cheerful customer experience—teenagers in red uniforms greet customers with a smile. Then, according to highly specific instructions laid out in the company handbook, they take, prepare and deliver orders. But in a twist on the concept that the customer is king, the wait staff's salutation is *sudar* or *sudarynia*, archaic Russian terms for “master” and “mistress.” Teremok’s fare consists not of American-style burgers but of Russian-style blini, the traditional thin pancakes, delivered with chain-restaurant consistency at fast-food prices. For 43 rubles (less than \$2), you can have a blini with butter; for 182 rubles (about \$7.50), you get your fast-food fix with red caviar.

By selling traditional food instead of bite-size imports like chicken nuggets, Teremok has grown into Russia’s fourth largest fast-food chain. Only McDonald’s, Rostik’s-KFC (a joint venture with Kentucky Fried Chicken) and the pizza chain Sbarro are larger. Teremok anticipates \$110 million in revenue this year, up from \$63 million last year, and the com-

pany may soon expand into the U.S. and Western Europe. Mikhail Goncharov, 37, Teremok’s founder, has big plans for the humble pancake. “We think blini could be for Russia what pizza is for the Italians,” he says.

Teremok began in the wake of the 1998 financial crisis. The name, suggested by Goncharov’s mother, who is the company’s head chef, translates roughly as “Fairy-Tale Cottage,” and the company’s rise has been something of a Cinderella story. When the Russian stock market crashed in August 1998, Goncharov lost the electronics-distribution business he had started. “For the first month, I was really sad,” said Goncharov, who was born in Kazakhstan and studied mathematics at Moscow State University. “Then I decided I have to start a new company.” Earlier that year he had visited



Batter up Blini fillings range from jam to caviar

London and Paris, and he recognized in the sidewalk creperies a model for selling Russian blini. “I understood this was one of the great ideas,” he says.

At the time, fast-food chains were scarce in Russia. McDonald’s, a pioneer in Russia, was a model, particularly for its cleanliness and sanitary procedures. “The quality in the Moscow McDonald’s is really high,” Goncharov says, adding that Teremok strives to match or exceed it.

With \$80,000 in capital (\$30,000 of his own and \$50,000 from two former business colleagues), he opened his first kiosk in April 1999, on Moscow’s Leningradsky Prospekt. By 2001, he had 15 kiosks in Moscow and 12 in St. Petersburg. “From the beginning, I was going to build a really good company, not just two or three restaurants for me,” Goncharov says.

He had the good fortune of launching his trendy food outpost just as the Russian economy took off again, creating a generation of free-spenders eager to indulge in the new culture of eating out. “The company understands its consumer base very well,” says Anastasia Alieva, an analyst at Euromonitor International. “Pancakes with butter, jam or traditional fillings like cheese, ham or mushrooms are offered at affordable prices. But also there are more expensive variants, like pancakes with caviar or smoked fish.”

Russian consumers, according to a recent report from Euromonitor International, want to be entertained, so to keep them interested, Teremok regularly introduces new fillings. (The latest is salmon, herring, cucumber and a special sauce.) Teremok gives away toys, based on a popular Russian children’s cartoon, with kids’ meals and uses secret shoppers to monitor workers’ politeness. (Bonuses are distributed on the basis of their reports.) All of it is learning by doing. “When I see a problem,” Goncharov says, “we buy books on the topic, then we read, then we decide.”

The original concept and menu haven’t changed much in 10 years, but the scale of production has increased dramatically. “If you’re chopping 100 kg of mushrooms, you do it one way,” Goncharov says. “If it’s 200 kg of mushrooms, you do it a totally different way.” The company has upgraded factories four times, and now has a 4,000-sq-m site.

Goncharov insists that Teremok will leave its national identity behind—but not the increasingly fashionable national snack—as it goes international. “I don’t want to be a Russian company in Germany,” he says. “In Europe and America, they don’t really like the Russians. But they could like the good products from Russia.” Especially if they come with caviar. ■

we find millions



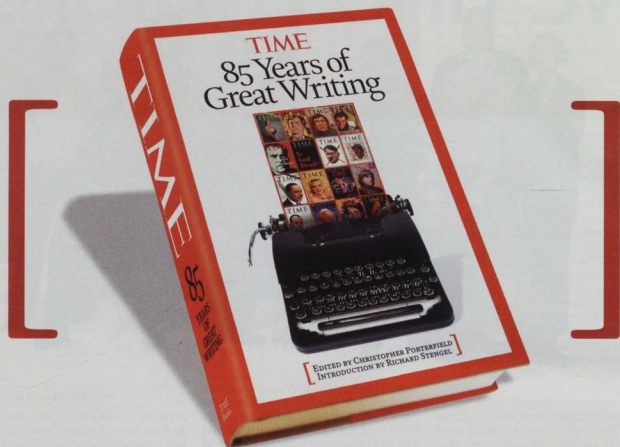
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Arts

MUSIC EXHIBITION

DOWNTOWN



MUSIC

Hit Restart. It got big, and annoying, singing one kind of song. Can Coldplay do anything else?

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

COLDPLAY HAS SOLD 30 MILLION copies of its first three albums, won four Grammys and cranked out several colossal ballads that, by apparent mandate of the Writers Guild, must be played during every TV drama's romantic-crisis montage. Only the deaf can claim not to know Coldplay. Lov-

ing Coldplay is a bit more complicated.

Thanks to the band's ubiquity and decency about rock stardom, Coldplay has nudged its way into a place alongside U2 and Radiohead in the holy trinity of bands that affluent adults consider good, good-hearted and worth breaking the bank to see in concert. But a small cult devoted to hating Coldplay has also arisen—which wouldn't be worth mentioning except

that most of its members are music critics and their fury has a Lou Dobbs-on-immigration edge to it. To mark the release of 2005's *X&Y*, the *New York Times*' Jon Pareles declared, "Coldplay is the most insufferable band of the decade." (Adding salt to the wound, the piece appeared in the same section as a full-page ad for *X&Y*.) In his book *Sex, Drugs, and Cocoa Puffs*, Chuck Klosterman upped the loathing and expanded the time frame: "Coldplay is absolutely the s_____iest f_____ing band I've ever heard in my entire f_____ing life."

Get past the obscenities, and the criticism amounts to this: lead singer Chris Martin is a cornball solipsist, the melodies all have the same mass-produced "character" as a Pottery Barn table, and Coldplay's albums sound like crib-safe versions of Radiohead—a band that, while commercially less successful, is infinitely more hip and worthy of adulation. Film critics have waged their own version of this argument with moviegoers about the relative merits of Steven Spielberg and Martin Scorsese, resulting, as you've no doubt heard, in the complete commercial failure of all Spielberg movies. But if scathing reviews haven't had an effect on listeners, they do seem to have had an impact on Coldplay.

In the run-up to its fourth album, *Viva la Vida*, out June 17, Martin has volunteered that his band isn't as good as Radiohead or U2 and that cultural dominance arrived before it was earned. The goal on *Viva la Vida*, he's said, was to "get better rather than bigger"—which explains the choice of Brian Eno as co-producer. Eno, 60, was a founding member of Roxy Music but gained his greatest fame as the composer of such endearingly odd ambient albums as *Music for Airports* and as the producer behind U2's sonic leap on its fourth album, *The Unforgettable Fire*. He's a mystical figure in rock circles for,



Mr. Gwyneth Paltrow Martin sounds fine, but the lyrics on *Viva la Vida* could use work

among other things, using hypnosis to help bands reach creative nirvana. Even his name sounds like a hallucinogen.

Musically, Eno nudges Coldplay a few steps closer to transcendence not by opening the band up—though he did have the group record in Spanish churches and play with *tablas*—but by tying it down. *Viva la Vida* starts with the light pulse of a keyboard and a beep that could be a passing satellite. Everything seems to exist in its own silo until a rising whoosh comes along and the instruments merge into a huge harmonic collision. The track is called *Life in Technicolor*, and what differentiates it from previous Coldplay attempts to lasso the cosmos (*Speed of Sound*, *Clocks*) is the details—or rather, the fact that there are details. Whereas before, the band would pound listeners into submission with giant chords and a lyric about space, here they let the songs' various parts resolve themselves, and there are no lyrics at all, just a single evocative group yawp.

It's a neat trick, turning discipline into ecstasy, and Coldplay executes it

with enough variations to keep things surprising. Strings pop up everywhere—not to grease your tear ducts but to enrich the sound and drive the countermelodies. After years of playing to the back row, guitarist Jonny Buckland has discovered that guitars come with more than one pedal, and his work on *Lovers in Japan* and *Violet Hill* is admirably precise. Will Champion, whose previous claim to fame was having the greatest drummer name of all time, bangs away on his kettles and timpani like a man celebrating his release from captivity.

But the lessons learned musically don't translate to Martin's lyrics. He tries to sound less like the sweetest guy in the world and more like a man of mystery; he's even given the album a theme—death. "At night they would go walking till the breaking of the day/The morning is for sleeping," he begins on *Cemeteries of London*, one of several attempts at narrative. But even if you pick your way past that pileup of gerunds, the storytelling never takes off. Beyond the absence of plot and characters, Martin just doesn't have a knack for phrasing, and he rarely trusts his own observations. He'd rather declare that 42 is a song about ghosts ("You thought you might be a ghost/ You didn't get to heaven, but you made it close") or name a track *Death and All His Friends* than craft a thought about absence and let the listener figure it out. After four albums, it might also be time to stop thinking of Martin as a great rock singer. His voice—high, sweet, pretty—has emotional impact but not much thematic range. Singing about the afterlife, he's as spooky as Casper.

Where Martin shines—and when *Viva la Vida* peaks—is when the subject turns to desire. He's got a soul singer's ability to communicate the totality of love with a few oohs and aahs, and he saves *Lovers in Japan* from his own clichés ("Lovers keep on the road you're on/ Runners until the race is run") just by opening up his throat and letting loose. On *Strawberry Swing*, Martin not only turns in a nice lyric ("People moving all the time/ Inside a perfectly straight line/ Don't you wanna just curve away?") but coos in a way that sounds like the perfect day he's describing, while Buckland plays a single guitar riff so softly and sweetly, you hardly notice when your feet leave the ground.

Coldplay has already proved itself critic-proof, and whether it wants to be any bigger or not, the odds are that *Viva la Vida* will be one of the top sellers of 2008. Ubiquity will remain theirs. But having risked a bit, Coldplay has also gained. It's pretty tough to call the band insufferable. Imperfect, maybe.

Cold Cuts from Coldplay. What you need—and don't—from the oeuvre



Parachutes, 2000
Yellow, with its huge chorus and falsetto vocals about love, establishes a Coldplay style
◀ **ESSENTIAL**



A Rush of Blood to the Head, 2002
Huger choruses (*Clocks*, *The Scientist*) net even huger sales
◀ **RESPECTABLE**



X&Y, 2005
Chris Martin's desire to fix you is starting to get a little annoying
◀ **DISPOSABLE**



Viva la Vida, 2008
Still sounds like Coldplay, but melodies are less predictable, more challenging
◀ **RESPECTABLE**

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EXHIBITIONS

The Dematerialist. The sculptor Anish Kapoor makes weighty things that can trip the light fantastic

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THERE'S NO SHORTAGE OF OUTDOOR SCULPTURE in the U.S. Most of it just sits there sunning itself, pretty much unnoticed by the people who go by. Then there's *Cloud Gate*, by the artist Anish Kapoor, born in Mumbai (formerly Bombay) and based in London. It's not just a work of art; it's a destination. Four years ago, it landed at Chicago's Millennium Park, where in no time it became an essential photo op. A fat, arching pillow of reflective steel, it's a giant fun-house mirror that bends people, clouds and the skyline into endlessly shifting puddles. Who can say no to something that turns the world into Silly Putty?

But *Cloud Gate* also distorts Kapoor a bit—at least in the U.S., where his complicated output is always in danger of being overwhelmed by this one singular sensation. You get a much firmer picture of him in "Anish Kapoor: Past, Present, Future," an indispensable show that runs through Sept. 7 at the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) in Boston. Organized by Nicholas Baume, the ICA's chief curator, it brings 14 Kapoors dating from 1980 to the present into a single long gallery that's also something of a fun house, assuming that a fun house can be smart, subtle and even a little haunting.

Surprisingly, this is Kapoor's first major museum survey in the U.S. in 15 years. In that time he's become a global art-world brand and something close to a household name in Britain, where he arrived in 1973 as a 19-year-old art student. He was first noticed for works in which he covered cones, cubes and pyramids with intensely colored raw pigment to make primal objects with a radioactive intensity. Since then, he's moved on to fiberglass, resin, acrylic and stainless steel, but almost always playing with the threshold between the solid and the immaterial, the point at which a thing comes into being or dematerializes, or the ways a massive solid form,

like *Inwendig Volle Figur* (inwardly turning full figure), can also be a giant entryway.

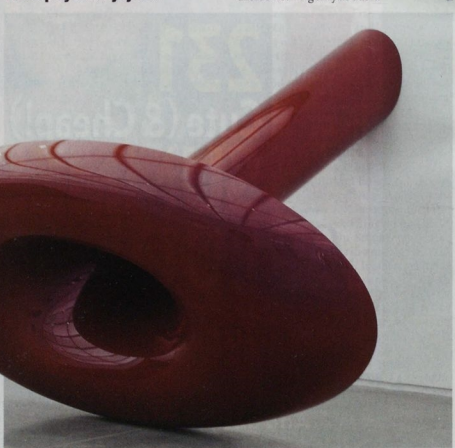
The paradox of Kapoor's work is that it has debts to the blunt boxes of minimalists like Donald Judd and Robert Morris as well as to the weightless atmospheres of James Turrell. But the blend of heavy and vaporous, declaring and beckoning—that's all Kapoor's. That explains *S-Curve*. A long wall of bending steel, it's like one of Richard Serra's hulking stretches. But because of its mirrored surface, *S-Curve* dematerializes, the way *Cloud Gate* does, into a field of runny reflections that throws the world for a loop. It's art as metaphysical jujitsu.

But as a preoccupation, immateriality can wear a little thin. So it's good that lately Kapoor has been interested in more solid realities. *Past, Present, Future*, the tour de force in this show, is an enormous half-hemisphere of purplish red wax and paint. Almost 30 ft. (9.1 m) wide, it bursts from a wall at one end of the gallery. A curving motorized blade rides slowly back and forth across its surface as though carving it, sending off splatters of wax along its circumference like solar flares. Wagnerian, mythic and muddy, it's something vast and strange being born, like a planet being fashioned out of primal elements and impersonal forces. Though in some ways this world is putty too, this time there's nothing silly about it. ■



S-CURVE, 2006

S-Curve dematerializes into a field of runny reflections that throws the world for a loop. It's art as metaphysical jujitsu



INWENDIG VOLLE FIGUR, 2006



Steady Art Beat

Richard Lacayo blogs daily about art and architecture at time.com/lookingaround



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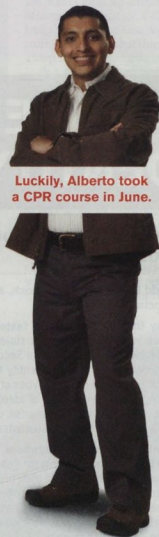
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MOVIES

Savage Grace Directed by Tom Kalin; written by Howard A. Rodman; not yet rated; out now

In this acid, fact-based portrait of the idle rich, love means finding new ways to hurt the ones you love most. Julianne Moore is the desperate mom, Stephen Dillane the sour dad, and two fine young actors, Barney Clark and Eddie Redmayne, play their son at various stages of his promise and ruin. A lush, creepy, boldly acted tale of suffocating passion. **B+**



You Don't Mess with the Zohan Directed by Dennis Dugan; rated PG-13; out now

Zohan (Adam Sandler) is the most feared and accomplished of Mossad agents. But what he really wants to do is cut hair. Working with top comedy writers Robert Smigel and Judd Apatow and dispensing with his standard idiot hero and bullying tone, Sandler fronts his most satisfying movie since *The Wedding Singer* in 1998. It's good, dirty fun. **B**



MUSIC

N.E.R.D. *Seeing Sounds*; out June 10

This duo still gets off on being as weird as it can be, which on the chop-suey soul-metal-prog *Spaz* and *Everyone Nose* is pretty damn weird. Even its worst experiments aren't the least bit predictable, which almost absolves Pharrell Williams of his inability to come up with anything to say beyond—and we're paraphrasing—Sex is nice. **B+**



Alanis Morissette *Flavors of Entanglement*; out June 10

Miss *You Oughta Know*'s first album since her ex-fiancé got engaged to Scarlett Johansson is, naturally, confessional ("I miss... the thought of us bringing up our kids"). It takes a hard heart not to be moved by Morissette alone at her piano—but a strong ear to love producer Guy Sigsworth's New Age indulgences. A mixed bag if ever there was one. **C+**



TELEVISION

Roman Polanski: Wanted and Desired HBO; June 9, 9 p.m. ET

The 1977 conviction of director Polanski (*Chinatown*, *The Pianist*) for sex with a minor was the very model of modern media circuses. Marina Zenovich uses archival and new interviews to show how the court and press made an example of the (admittedly guilty) filmmaker. A thoughtful look at celebrity, justice and the incompatibility of the two. **B**



60-SECOND SYNOPSIS

Campaign as Epitaph

IT'S IMPOSSIBLE NOT TO be saddened by Thurston Clarke's look at Robert F. Kennedy's 82-day quest for the White House. Even if **THE LAST CAMPAIGN** (Henry Holt; 321 pages) did not begin with a moving account of Kennedy's funeral train (which it does), the story's end is already well known.

Yet that sense of inevitability also makes it an exhilarating read, for rarely since has a politician of such stature embarked on a campaign so genuinely wedded to the concepts of sacrifice and moral empathy. Clarke's day-to-day account of the period from March 1968, when Kennedy announced his run, to June 5, when he was assassinated, superbly documents R.F.K.'s anti-war, anti-poverty, anti-complicity platform.

Kennedy seemed to delight in telling audiences the opposite of what they wanted to hear. Amid the era's taut racial tensions, he spent more time asking white audiences to step into the shoes of aggrieved blacks than he did pandering to their desire for law and order. In Clarke's passionate retelling, Kennedy seemed to know what lay ahead; he ran his race with such disdain for safe politics, it was "as if this campaign might have to serve as legacy, and epitaph."

—BY GILBERT CRUZ



Nancy

Gibbs

Graduates, Go Forth and Multiply! And divide. And skin a knee. And let middle school be a world of wonder and surprise

GRADUATION DAY IS MADE FOR PRIDE AND PRIZES AND unsolicited advice that will be lost in the fizz of the moment and recycled years later. I figure that by the time my girls are done with college—or maybe even high school—it will be way too late to make an impression on them. But my youngest girl's class's upcoming Fourth Grade Recognition Day, the end of lower school, the lip of higher learning, is a chance to catch her on her way and hand her a compass and a map.

I sometimes think she's already way ahead of me. The world comes to them in earnest so young: the testing, the teams, the workday that lasts longer than mine and often seems harder. The locker—just keeping that organized would have been beyond my 10-year-old self, but here she is, 4 ft. 11 1/2 in. (151 cm) of impish energy and poise and purpose, held together by imagination and Gummi Bears.

So what would I tell her while I have the chance? That you and your classmates have changed since you arrived in kindergarten: you can read now, write in cursive, know the backstroke and long division and the state capitals. But middle school is an identity crisis waiting to happen. Right now your glorious brain is firmly lodged in the good head on your shoulders, which sit atop a body whose feet are firmly planted on the ground. All of this is about to change.

Your brain is going to sweep and swell into all sorts of new directions and dimensions. It will encounter Ambiguity. Ambivalence. Algebra. Your body is about to be taken over by aliens, behave in ways you can't control, grow in ways you can't contain. At times your feet will seem nowhere near the ground. I fell down the stairs a lot in middle school. Basic coordination was often beyond me. Confusion is part of the curriculum.

You've been taught to try to do the right thing, but you may find it's now harder to know what that is. We taught you not to tattle; now the honor code requires you to. We told you to listen to your teachers; now we'll say that you also have to think for yourself. You've learned the game of baseball, but now the field is 50% bigger and pitchers can be called for balking. It's a subjective application of a subjective rule. Get used to it.

Your friendships will get tangled like tagliatelle, and it will be a challenge to keep straight the crushes,

the feuds, the screen names. Yet as you cope with these grown-up entanglements, remember to be nice to little kids. You were little yourself once. And to your parents. You are about to go through a phase in which we say only annoying, irrelevant and inconvenient things. By the time you are ready to graduate from high school, you may find our company bearable again. In the meantime, our job is to keep you safe, let you trip occasionally, shut down your machines and send you outside to play, keep our sense of humor in the face of your exuberant teenage hostility, and continue to cuddle with you on occasion and in weak moments when you remember how nice it feels to have strong arms around you, whether you need them or not.



Your world will be full of surprises. Some will scare you, some will sting. But think of what you have already studied. You read about the great explorers who found this country while looking for someplace else. You learned about the American Revolution, whose leaders surprised even themselves with what they were prepared to risk for their freedom. You devoured *Harry Potter*, which was written by a woman who wanted to write serious novels until a wizard entered her train compartment and made her write wonderful ones instead. You owe the existence of the Post-it notes

in your binder to the 3M researcher who tried to find a stronger glue and changed the world by failing: he found a weaker one instead.

Surprises, by their nature, come in disguise, masked sometimes as disappointments or detours when they're in fact dreams turning solid, if you'll just step aside and give them some air. It is actually in the official graduation rule book that someone has to quote Emerson to you, so in case everyone else forgets, I would note his instruction to "mount to paradise/ By the stairway of surprise."

And then, along with a diploma, I'd hand over a permission slip. I'd want you to keep it handy and whip it out whenever the breath is too heavy on the back of your neck. It's especially good for the summer days ahead: permission to read books that are not on any reading list. To eat foods that aren't good for you. To make messes. Build forts. Play spud. And leave yourself some room to be surprised. ■



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